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COWRIES (*MONETA* AND *ANNALUS*)

GEORGE W. BRIGGS

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IN 1939 a correspondence was started in *Man* (October, pp. 165 ff.) over the meaning and use of the cowrie shell. These discussions led me, because the cowrie is put to many uses in India, to review the data on the shell. This is not an attempt to give an exhaustive treatment of the subject, but to supply sufficient data to show the extent to which it has been used both as money and for magico-religious purposes.

The Latin word for cowrie (*kauṛī*) is *cypraea moneta;* the Sanskrit word, *kaparda.* These small shells are dome shaped, the lower or ventrical side flat with the edges folded in and fluted so as to form an opening along their middle. They are about an inch long and half as wide, and elliptical in form. The shells are straw colored above and white at the sides and below, richly enameled and often beautifully mottled in browns. However, there is great variety in the color combinations and patterns of the shells, some being very light cream in color with a ring of orange on the dorsal side enclosing a solid gray area. This is the *cypraea annalus,* or the ring cowrie, sometimes considered as a separate variety. It is in more general use as money. There is very little difference between *moneta* and *annalus.* The animal[1] comes out of its shell to feed, covering it more or less completely. A lady, writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* sixty years ago says, "Jonnie found a lovely cowrie two inches long like a mottled tortoise shell, walking on a rock, with its red fleshy body covering half its shell, like a jacket trimmed with chenille fringe."[2]

The shells belong to a family of marine gastropod molluscs of which more than 150 living species are known. They are found in shallow water, principally in the Indo-Pacific region. When alive, the edges of the mantle are folded over the shell, covering a large part of its surface and are provided with branch appendages. There is a difference in the form of the shells in young and old. That of the former is like a normally

1. W. P. Pycraft, *Illustrated London News,* Sept. 14, 1935.

2. *Letter of Miss North, "From Srychelle Islands" in *Pall Mall Gazette* (Jan. 21, 1884). Quoted in *Hobson-Jobson,* p. 221. (This, however, is a different species from the money cowries.) References that may be found in *Hobson-Jobson,* pp. 269 ff. are marked with an *. (*Hobson-Jobson,* by Yule and Burnell, New Ed., edited by W. Crooke, London, 1903).

coiled snail, the lip of the aperture being simple and the spine acute and prominent; but, in the adult, the outer lip is very large, the shell is inrolled so that the spine is nearly hidden and the internal wall between the various whorls is reabsorbed.[3]

Travellers and traders since the last days of the first millennium of our era have made references to the cowrie as money. Mas'ūdī (ca. 943)[4] makes reference to cowries as such. Alberūnī, about 1000 A.D., describes when and how they were obtained. He wrote that the Dīva (Maledíva and Laccadiva) Islands were of two names according to their products. One group was known as the *Dīva-Kūdha,* that is, "the Dīva of the kauri-shells, because there they gather kauri-shells from the branches of the cocoanut palms which they plant in the sea."[5] The shells which form in clusters on the branches and leaves of these trees, are collected and buried on the shore for three years so that the flesh which covers them may decay and come off.

A little more than two centuries after Alberūnī (in 1240) a Muslim comments on the great inconvenience of counting and handling very large numbers of cowries: "It has been narrated on this wise that as in that country (Bengal), the *kauri* is current in place of silver, the least gift he used to bestow was a *lak* (100,000) of *kauris.* The Almighty mitigated his punishment" (in hell)![6]

This same century, the thirteenth, gives us Marco Polo, who returned from his second journey to China to 1295. Yule,[7] who has given us the most elaborate study of Marco Polo's travels, quotes him as saying that, in Yunnan, "They use for the purpose (money) white porcelain shells that are found in the sea, such as are sometimes put on dog's collars, and eighty of the porcelain shells pass for a single weight of silver, equivalent to two Venice groats."[8]

Marco Polo's word for these shells, *pourcelaines* (the name current in Italy and France), means "pig-shells," and the word has been transferred to China-ware, so the word pig has been in Scotland applied to crockery.

3. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 14th Ed., VI, 623-24.

4. *I, 385.

5. **Alberūnī's India,* Translated by E. C. Sachau. Popular Edition, two volumes in one (London, 1914), I, 210.

6. *Tabakāt-i-Nāsari,* by Raverty, pp. 555 ff.; quoted in *Hobson-Jobson,* p. 270.

7. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo The Venetian,* Edited and Translated by Col. Henry Yule, Two Volumes (London, 1871).

8. *Ibid.,* II, 39.

The Greek word for the cowrie, χοῖρος, means "little pig," and the Roman word is *porci, porculi, porclain.* He reports the use of the shells further west in Yunnan, where they obtain them from India,[9] and still further west, on the borders of Burma (the country of the "gold-tooth people"), and also in the country of Locac: "In this kingdom (Locac) too are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all those regions."[10] Locac is Siam.[11]

Moslem conquerors of Bengal, in the early part of this same century, found that ordinary currency was composed exclusively of cowries.

Ibn Batūta, in the middle of the fourteenth century, saw cowries sold on the Niger at the rate of 1150 for a gold dīnār.

Ma Huan, A Chinese Muslim traveller, who visited the east Indian Archipelago and various countries to the West early in the fifteenth century, published an account of his adventures in 1416. He speaks of these shells, saying: "They gather cowrie shells, which are heaped up like a mountain; they catch them in a net and let them rot and sell them to other places. They are sold under the name of *hai liu-yu.*"[12]

W. W. Rockhill, translating Ma Huan, says: "Every sea trader takes one shipload of cowries to Wu-Tieh (Orissa?) or Peng-Kala (Bengal) where he is sure to exchange it for a shipload of rice and more, for these people use couries as money, and a very ancient style of currency it is."[13] He also quotes from the account saying that shells are sold in Kedah, in Siam, where they are used as money, and says that this is the first clear reference to the Maldive Islands in Chinese history.

As to the sources from which they are derived and their place in trade, there are many references:

Correa (ca. 1561) says that palm-wood boats of the Maldives "come loaded with coir and *caury,* which are certain little white shells found among the

9. *Marco Polo, Venetian Adventurer,* by H. H. Hart (Stanford Univ. Press, 1942) p. 129.

10. Yule, *op. cit.,* II, 219. See also *Cathay and the Way Thither,* I, 243.

11. *Ibid.,* p. 220.

12. See J. J. L. Duyvendak, "Ma Huan Re-Examined," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke akademie van westenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling letterkunde.* Nieuwe reeks, Deel XXXII, No. 3, 1933. He corrects W. W. Rockhill's rendering of the account in *T'oung pao,* XVI, 387-89, 392. See also Pelliot in *T'oung pao,* 1933, pp. 415-16. The Third Ming Emperor (1403-1425) made naval expeditions in the Indian Ocean as far as Aden and Mecca.

13. *T'oung pao,* XVI, 387-89, 392.

islands in such abundance that whole vessels are laden with them, and which make a great trade in Bengala, where they are current as money.[14]

Gray, in Pyrard de Laval,[15] mentions that they come in great numbers from the Maldives; and Sassetti,[16] in 1865, mentioned the same Islands as the source of the cowrie money of Bengal, as did Bernier, who said: "She (Hindustan) imports a small sea shell from the Maldives, used in Bengal and other places as a species of small money."[17]

Tavernier, the jeweler and famous traveller, who visited India and other parts of the East no less than six times between the years 1640 and 1665, and who was often at the Moghul Court in Agra, as well as in other parts of India, Persia, and the Far East, spoke of two kinds of small money in India, the copper *paisā* and the cowries. "The other small money (besides paisa)," he wrote, "consists of shells called cowries, which have the edges inverted, and they are not found in any other part of the world save only in the Maldive Islands. It is the principal source of revenue for the King of these Islands, for they export them to all the states of the Great Moghul, to the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, and even to the islands of America (the West Indies) to serve as money. Close to the sea they give up to eighty for a *paisā*, and that diminishes as you leave the sea . . . so that at Agra you receive but fifty or fifty-five for the *paisā*."[18]

Tavernier's information about the sources of the cowrie are not quite accurate, for they are found in other parts of the Indian Ocean, on the Malabar coast of India, in Ceylon, on the African coast from Ras Hafun to Mozambique, and still further afield, on the sand banks of the Gulf of Siam, on the Sulu Islands, on Borneo, as far away as the Philippine Islands, and in the Red Sea.

The accounts cited above describe the place of origin and the uses of these shells as money. It may now be of interest to go more into detail concerning the extent of this use and the values which they have held in trade. Up to 1801 the whole revenue of Silhet, amounting to *Rs.* 250,000, was collected in cowries. In 1854, the table of values was as follows:

4 kauṛīs = 1 gaṇḍa
20 gaṇḍas = 1 pan

14. **Lendas da India* (middle 16th Cent.) I, 341.

15. *Hak. Soc.* *1, 236. See also, *Ibid.*, 517.

16. **De Gubernatis*, p. 205.

17. *E. T. Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, A.D. 1656-1668. Translated by A. Constable, 1891. Second ed., Revised by V. A. Smith, 1916 (Oxford University Press), p. 204.

18. **Travels in India*, by Jean Baptiste Tavernier. Two Vols., edited by V. Bell (1889), I, 27-28. See also Introduction.

4 pan = 1 Āna

4 Ānas = 1 kāhan (¼ rupee); which works out at 5,120 to a rupee. It required more than one and a quarter billions of them to meet the revenue of Silhet.[19]

Other references to the cowrie quoting values are A. Nunes,[20] and Seton-Karr.[21] Long,[22] in 1757, mentions their use in European foreign trade. These accounts impress us with the wide use of these shells for money and with the larger figures into which their numbers ran. Ours is not the only age of "astronomical" sums of money.

A diary written in 1683 contains the following information:

> The ship Britannica—from the Maldive Islands arrived before the factory . . . at their first going ashore, their first salutation before the natives was a shower of stones and arrows, whereby six of their men were wounded, which made them immediately return on board, and by ye mouths of their guns force them to a complyance and permission to load what Cowries they would at Market Price; So that in a few days time they sett sayle from thence to Surrat with above 60 Tunn of Cowryes.[23]

As many as thirty or forty ships used to be loaded with them.

Hamilton[24] (1819) repeats the information about putting palm branches (with leaves on) into the sea to catch cowries and goes on to say that when buried shells are taken out of the pit they are bartered for rice, butter, and cloth which shipping brings from Balasore in Orissa, near Bengal, in which countries cowries pass for money from 2,500 to 3,000 a rupee or half-crown English. Formerly the annual importation of shells into Bengal amounted to at least £30,000.

A contract is recorded in 1762 as follows: "The trade of the salt and *butty wood* in the Chucla of Sillett, has for a long time been granted to me in consideration of which I pay a yearly rent of 40,000 cauons (= @ 1280, 51,200,000) of cowries."[25] And a revenue posting in 1791 states:

19. **Lives of the Lindsays*, III, 170; their value there in 1940, according to Gibson, was 6144 to the rupee.

20. *35, 1554; H. Walpole, *Letters*, 1770.

21. *I, 140.

22. *I, 41.

23. *Hedges, *Diary* (1681-88), July 1, Hyc. Soc. I, 96.

24. *A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*. Ed. 1744. I, 349.

25. *Native letter to Nabob in *Vansittart, A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal* (1760-64). I, 203.

Notice is hereby given, that on or before the 1st of November next, sealed proposals of contract for the remittance in Decca of the cowries received on account of the Revenues of Sylhet . . . will be received at the Office of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue. . . . All persons to specify the rates per cowan or cowans of cowries (kahan = 1280) at which they will engage to make the remittance proposed.[26]

R. C. E. Stearns[27] quotes from Reeve, *Conchologia Septematica,* (Vol. II) the report of a man in Cuttack who paid out 16,000,000 cowries in building his house.

Henry Barth, the African explorer, found them in use in 1850 in Kano, Kuka, Gando, and even in Timbuktu. He relates that in Muniyoma, one of the ancient divisions of Bornu, the king's revenue was estimated at 30,000,000 annually, every full grown man being required to pay annually 1,000 shells for himself, 1,000 for every pack-ox and 2,000 for every slave in his possession. They received their supply from the west coast, or from Muslim traders from Zanzibar.[28]

Their use as money in Uganda is very old. In West Africa, until past the middle of the nineteenth century, they were the usual tender, and their use extended inland as far as Timbuktu. On the West Coast the shells were fastened together in strings of forty to one hundred each, so that fifty or twenty strings represented one dollar. In the interior, they were counted one by one. Some of those used in the interior were obtained through Muslim traders. They are still in circulation in the remoter parts of Africa, but are being used to a less extent.

Penzer, in a footnote,[29] suggests that in Kashmir the shell was the unit of the monetary system and valued the rupee as worth 4,096.

T. C. Lethbridge reports that fifty years ago in Fiji, a cowrie was represented as the price of a "wife"; and he recounts that a chief told von Hügel that in the old days one of these cowries would bring a girl; and remarks that "it would seem as if these were used as the highest barter

26. *In Seton-Karr, W. S. and Hugh Sandeman, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes* (1784-1823). II, 53. In 1803 the Raja of Kitta Keonghur agreed to pay an annual tribute to Cuttack of 12,000 kakuns of cowries (= 15,360,000).

27. *Proceeding of the California Academy of Sciences,* Vol. 5, Series 1, and in "Ethno-Conchology: A Study in Primitive Money," in *Smithsonian Report* (U. S. National Museum, 1887), p. 302.

28. *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 11th Ed., XXIV, 833.

29. *The Ocean of Story,* IX, 17. In this work (ca. 1070) they are mentioned.

unit for the most valuable objects."[30] (These, however, were a quite different species from those in general use, being over three inches in length.) In Bastar, in 1873, a rupee was worth 2,880 cowries. Their very general use in Siam continued up to 1865.[31] A. S. Kenyon[32] reports that among aboriginals on the coasts of Australia and among Papuans and Melaneasians, orange cowries were the sole prerogative of chiefs, but these were a different species. Their use as money has continued down to the present time in India, where their current value is 140 to a cent. They are in circulation in Nigeria[33] and in West Africa[34] and have been found at Lake Tanganika.[35]

An unusual chapter in the account of their use as money deals with the African slave trade. According to *Hobson-Jobson*,[36] during the height of that traffic, 12,000 weight of cowries would purchase a cargo of from 500 to 600 negroes. At one time these shells were imported into England for this purpose. In 1803, 1,418 cwt. of them brought £3,626 in the East Indian auctions. At the peak of the trade the great mart for cowries was Amsterdam, where spacious warehouses were built to hold them. They were called "Blackamoors' (Black Moors') teeth" in England (1749).[37] As used in the slave trade they were called "Guinea money."[38]

The writer, whose account of purchases of negroes for cowries has just been referred to, mourns:

> But those lucrative times are now no more, and the Negroes now set such a value on their countrymen that there is no such thing as having a cargo under twelve or fourteen tuns of cowries. . . . As payments of this kind of specie are attended with some intricacy, the Negroes, though so simple as to sell one another for shells, have contrived a kind of copper vessel, holding exactly 108 pounds, which is a great dispatch of business.[39]

30. *Man*, 1941, No. 37.
31. Hallet, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant*, p. 164.
32. *Numismatist*, Vol. 54, 341 f.
33. *Man*, 1940, No. 78, article by C. K. Meek.
34. Herskovits, *Myth of the Negro Past* (New York, 1941), p. 61.
35. *The Numismatist*, Vol. 17, p. 347.
36. P. 270.
37. **The Boscawen's Voyage to Bombay*, by Philalerthe, 1750, p. 52.
38. Stearns, "Aboriginal Shell Money," in *Smithsonian Report*, 1887, p. 120.
39. **A Voyage to the Island of Ceylon, on Board a Dutch Indiaman in the year 1747*, etc., written by a Dutch Gentleman. Translation, etc., London, 1754, pp. 21 ff.

The great quantities of cowries shipped and in use is attested in various reports. In 1848 sixty tons were imported into Liverpool, and in 1849 nearly three hundred were brought to the same port; a Hamburg house is said to have sent annually fourteen vessels to Zanzibar for cargoes of cowries with which to purchase palm oil and other products of West Africa. In the years 1868-70 into the port of Lagos nearly 8,594 tons of cowries were imported.[40]

Cowries were used as counters in games in Great Britain as dice round cut and filled with bright colored sealing wax. The games were somewhat complex, especially in counting or interpreting the throws.[41] Referring to the use of the shells in gambling (1865), it is written: "Strip him stark naked, and cast him upon a desert island, and he would manage to play heads and tails for cowries with the sea-gulls, if land-gulls were not to be found."[42] In ancient times "Venus" meant the highest throw of the dice. The ancient name for cowrie was *concho venera,* "the shell of Venus." They are widely used in games in India today.

The story of the cowrie has not yet been told in its entirety. We discover that it was highly prized in remote antiquity. It was used in commercial transactions between Egypt and India in ancient times. It was part of the tribute paid by the aborigines of Puanit to Metesouphis.[43] The cowrie's early use in China is well attested. C. W. Bishop explains this, saying: "Borrowing them from the aborigines of the East and South, around the Christian Era, they made them the unit of a monetary system which included the tortoise and other shells as well."[44] But this use of cowries as money goes back into Bronze and even Neolithic times in China.[45] Professor T. de Lacouperie[46] speaks of a cowrie currency as early as the twenty-third century, B.C. This shows a very early contact with the outside world. The shells are mentioned in the *Shu King*[47] and the *Shi King.* And they were highly prized in the Shang (B.C. 1523-1027)

40. "Ethno-Conchology, etc." *Smithsonian Report,* 1887, pp. 302 ff.

41. *Am. Jour. Numismatic* (Jan. 1906), Vol. 40, p. 64.

42. **Zelda's Fortune,* Ch. IV.

43. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization,* 3rd Ed. (1894), p. 427.

44. C. W. Bishop, *Origin of Far Eastern Civilizations,* Smithsonian Inst. War Background Studies No. I (1942), p. 28.

45. Creel, *The Birth of China* (London, 1936), p. 90.

46. *R. A. S. G. B. & I. Jour.* 1888, art. 12. "Metal Cowries of Ancient China."

47. Pt. IV, Book VII, Pt. ii. 14, where hoarding cowries is referred to. Also XXII. 19.

and the Chou (B.C. 1027-256) periods,[48] being actually a medium of exchange and money of the periods, representing wealth. They were hoarded as treasure in the storerooms of kings. Consequently they appear as burial ware and as ornaments. As money the shells had a hole bored in the dorsal side (back) near the small end, and they were strung (as cash is),[49] strings of them being carried on sticks, or as chains or ropes. They were strung also for belts, necklaces, bracelets, and for other ornamentation. In some instances two holes were bored for stringing purposes.[50] During Chou times there was some transition from shells to metal for money.[51]

Inscriptions on oracle bones,[52] on Shang bronze and tortoise shell and on bronze and earthen vessels of the Chou period give clear and exact views of their use as money,[53] and the Chou casting of bronze vessels with inscriptions on outer and inner surfaces date from around B.C. 900. The idiograph of the cowrie, in Shang, represents the ventral side conventionalized.[54] All of the idiographs built up from this, both ancient and modern, have to do with money and its uses, including the following ideas: obtain, defeat (ruin), purchase, hoard (store up, keep in a strong room, things of value), borrow, reward or bestow, sell, commerce, valuable (more than anything else, most valuable thing to possess), hold in a safe place, taxation, and trade. Creel says: "My notes record thirty-three inscriptions on bronze of Chou date (1027-256 B.C.) in which cowries are said to have been given as a reward for service, or as a mark of esteem, to vassals by their feudal superiors." Inscriptions show the importance of these shells. They were used as tribute, even earlier, to Shang rulers. The character for sword contains the pictograph for cowrie.[55] As a matter of fact, 163 of the smaller and more highly prized cowries were found in a single treasure pit of the Shang period.[56]

48. H. E. Gibson, *Jour. N. C. R. A. S.* (1940), LXXI, 334-35. See also R. S. Britton, *Fifty Shang Inscriptions* (Princeton, 1940), 15-16.
49. Britton, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 50, 53.
50. H. F. Bowker, *Coin Collector's Journal* (1943), Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 91 f.
51. Creel, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
52. Britton, *op. cit.*, previous references.
53. The Shang bones date B.C. 1500-1100.
54. See S. W. Bushnell, *China Notes and Queries*, N.S. 4 (1870) p. 128.
55. Creel, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Bushnell[57] records that in Ch'in times (B.C. 221-207) an order went forth that cowries, among other valuables, were to be used only in articles of ornamentation, and that they would be no longer available in buying and selling. In the former Han, the change back from copper to cowries was suggested. This actually happened two or three centuries later. During these periods transactions in cowries were recorded as so many double strings, each of ten shells. While metal began to displace cowries as money in Chou times, still they were used long after the Ts'in Era (B.C. 225-209) and as Marco Polo reported (see above) they were in use in Yunnan down into medieval times of our era. H. A. Ramsden makes the significant remark: "The cowrie shell alone probably survives all other primitive mediums of exchange since faithful representations of the originals, in both horn and copper were also used at a later period."[58]

To complete the picture of the distribution of the cowries the following facts are recorded:

Cowrie shells were found at Chanhu-daro[59] and one was found at Mohenjo-daro.[60] The author does not think that they were used as money. They are reported from ruins in Nineveh.[61] The shells have been found in graves in ancient Egypt. Jackson[62] gives some details as to distribution in Egypt. He refers to them both in pre-dynastic burials and graves in Egypt and Nubia, at Karnak, in a tomb of the XVIII Dynasty at Abydos, at Koptos (probably pre-Dynastic), and at pre-Dynastic El Amrah. He suggests that they were probably used as money for two reasons, first, because of the numbers found and, second, because of their association with scarabs as money. Del Mar[63] says that the Indians who traded with Egypt at a very remote period, used "tortoise" (probably cowrie)[64] shells for money. Cowries have been found in the Koban Necropolis (B.C. 1300-1700) on the north slope of the Caucasus along with bronze and other objects; at Shusha in the Transcaucasia; in Scythian graves near Kiev; in the sandy layers above the Tertiaries at Frankfort-on-Main, where there are extensive prehistoric settlements; in the far north among foreign objects, cufic money and the like in the island of Björkö (Finland)[65]; at Nim-

57. *Loc. cit.*

58. *Chinese Early Barter* (Yokahama, 1912).

59. E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro Excavations* (New Haven, 1943), p. 207, and Plate LXXXVI b, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5. No. 2 is perforated.

60. *Idem, Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro* (Delhi, 1938), I, 582.

61. *The Numismatist,* XXVII, 423.

62. J. W. Jackson, *Shells as Evidence of Migrations of Early Culture* (Manchester, 1917), pp. 126 ff.

63. *A History of Money* (London, 1885), p. 147.

64. Jackson, *op. cit.,* p. 130.

65. *Ibid.*

rod, where a ring cowrie was found;[66] in burials in Pompeii (and in Modern Italy); in Corfu; in Montenegro; in paleolithic graves in Western Europe, that is, in France, Germany, and elsewhere; in England in Anglo-Saxon graves; in Africa; and in Yang Shao graves in Honan.[67] Other sites in Asia where cowries were found include Anau in Turkestan (but not in graves); in prehistoric India (as already mentioned); on the other side of the world in the Pacific Islands; and in three different (inland) areas in North America,[68] among the Ojibwas and Menomine, and in the South, in mound-burial in Alabama; and on the Pacific coast,[69] where they were regarded as sacred objects by the former for centuries, and used in various ceremonies. Some have thought that these are pre-Columbian deposits; but it is more likely that they trace to Columbus himself. He was a student of Marco Polo, and knew that shells were used as money in the Far East, and, for that reason, included them among his supplies. Professor Herskovits, on his recent field-trip to Brazil, found cowries used for cult purposes, though they are not now used as money. They were formerly imported from Africa. On a previous trip he had found them in Surinam.

Imitations of the cowrie have been numerous. In China there was what has been called a cowrie metal currency, and for centuries cowries and metal money existed side by side.[70] Besides, by the Chinese,[71] bone, ivory, jade, quartz, precious stones, mother-of-pearl, wood, clay, bronze, and other metals were used in making imitation cowries. In early upper Egypt a reproduction of the cowrie in jorite is reported.[72]

The cowrie is the most widespread of all the money shells.

These accounts of the cowrie as money do not exhaust its interest for us, either in regard to places or times where it is known, for it is evidently valued for other reasons, *primarily*. Its intrinsic worth is not principally in the facility with which it may be handled in exchange, but rather in its magico-religious significance.

The discussion in *Man* arose over a note by Dr. Margaret A. Murray, "The Meaning of the Cowrie-shell" (October, 1939, No. 165), which challenged the claim that the cowrie is a female sex charm:

66. S. P. Woodward, *Manual of Mollusca*, Reprint of 4th ed. (London, 1890), p. 233.

67. J. G. Andersson, in *China Jour. of Science and Arts*, 1923, p. 512.

68. *Idem, Children of the Yellow Earth* (London, 1934), pp. 296, 299, 306.

69. Holmes, *Second Report, American Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883, p. 220.

70. *J. R. A. S., Gr. B. & I.* (1888), pp. 428, 439.

71. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 335. Also, A. S. Kenyon, "The Cowrie Shell in Primitive Currency," *Numismatics*, LIV, 341 ff.

72. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

The idea that it is essentially a female charm is founded on the supposed likeness between the human vulva and the opening of the shell when set upright. Little account, however, has been taken of the occurrence of the cowrie as a charm for the male, or of the psychological fact that women almost invariably keep sex-charms hidden.

The cowrie is, and always has been worn by men and other male animals as frequently as it has been worn by women. . . . It is not exclusively a sex charm, because it is placed on all animals regardless of sex, and on mules and geldings.

The cowrie, which, until the last few years, has been used as a form of money, could never have been so used had it been regarded as representing the vulva. All anthropologists know that there exists a feeling of repulsion among most Eastern and early peoples against touching the woman's genitalia with the hand; even the representation would not be touched. Consequently cowries could never have been handled freely as a means of barter had they been regarded as a form of the female organ.

In the course of the correspondence reported in *Man,* a number of facts were brought to light and were examined with reference to Miss Murray's claims. These and other items bearing on this point will appear in the course of the discussion which follows.

As a matter of fact, women in Egypt, Morocco, and northern Nigeria wear cowrie shells, as do also Yuroba, Hottentot, Sudanese, Abyssinian, Kirghis, Tartar, and Tibetan women. This fact applies also to women in Somaliland and the Hadramaut. Women in Greece, Italy, Corfu, Montenegro wear them, and M. E. Durham[73] reports the same practice in the Balkans. The use of cowrie shells by women in India is very widespread. This is true in the Naga Hills, and in many other places. In Bastar one sees necklaces in which red glass beads are arranged in threes with cowries.[74] And Muria women and girls wear them.[75] In the Near East, women wear many pendants in necklaces and earrings made both with shells and with stylized cowries in metal.[76]

Dr. Jeffreys, reporting from the Cameroons says, "I have seen innumerable women adorned with cowrie shells,"[77] and cites photographs in Basdin's book on the Igbo in substantiation of the point. On the other hand, he has "seen few men so adorned." Dr. Jeffreys says further, "I can

73. *Man,* 1940, No. 101.
74. *Ibid.,* No. 187.
75. Elwin, *Man,* 1942, No. 72.
76. M. E. Durham, *Man,* 1941, No. 13.
77. *Man,* 1940, No. 79.

confirm that among the Igbo, the Tiv and the Northern Cameroon tribes, men are clothed and women are naked." W. V. Grigson[78] attests to men in peninsular India wearing them. As an example of men's clothing being adorned with cowries, reference may be made to the Maria Gonds of Bastar, where Mr. Grigson says their function is probably display.[79] Elwin says that among the Muria they are more generally worn by men. Muria boys wear them in festal dress.[80] J. H. Hutton says:

> In the Naga Hills of Assam the cowrie is commonly worn by males. In some tribes females also use it. A Sema woman, for instance, wears a waist string of cowries and, if the wife or daughter of a man who has performed a full series of "feats of merit" she may have her petticoat embroidered with a pattern of applied cowries. More usually, however, this is a male privilege and always seems to have reference to status, generally to that of a warrior with particular associations with head taking, though also the association is with triumphs of Venus rather than Mars.[81]

The foregoing lists are not exhaustive, but they are sufficient to show the wide and open use of the cowrie by both women and men.

Of course this data might be used to support Miss Murray's contention that the shell has no sex significance. On the other hand, there is ample evidence pointing to the symbolic significance of the shells for fertility. This aspect of the meaning of the shells may be divided into two, their reference to this world's needs as sources of life and power, and their bearing upon immortality, the future life, or re-incarnation.

One of the great mysteries which has intrigued men from the earliest times is that of the origins of life. And, as G. Elliot Smith says,[82] because of the fanciful resemblance which particular groups of men could distinguish between the cowrie and the female organs of reproduction, this association between fertility and that shell has been found from very early times. Ennius referred to the shell as *matriculus*. The Japanese of today recognize this. Rendel Harris argued for Aphrodite as born from the sea foam and having reached Cyprus as a cowrie. The scientific name *Cypraea* is derived from Cyprus. The cowrie was consecrated to Venus;

78. *Ibid.*, No. 187.
79. W. V. Grigson, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 63, 69, 80.
80. *Man*, 1942, No. 72.
81. *Ibid.*, 1940, No. 102.
82. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

and that beliefs associated with the cowrie were long current in the Mediterranean is clear from Pliny.[83] In this connection, Dr. Smith continues by saying that the earliest deities in primitive Egypt, Mesopotamia, Dravidia and the Mediterranean regions were female: Hathor, Ishtar, village gods of South India, and Aphrodite; and that all are from a common source.[84] Legends travelled with the cowrie from the Red to the Mediterranean, he says. So we are carried back to the early problem (as men began to see it) of life and death, and magic to restore the life that man had lost—breath (opening the mouth), water of life (libation), odor and sweat of life (cremation).[85]

Water is life-giving, reproducing. Then men noticed the shell, the mollusc extruding itself from the shell similar to parturition. So the shell becomes an amulet for girls, barren women, and others. As Andersson puts it,[86] one of the first personal divinities, the goddess of love and fecundity rose from the bosom of the sea. In the Aurora Islands (near Bauks I.) the first woman is believed to have come from a cowrie shell. Samoan islanders consider it the origin of man.[87] Codrington reported the belief from Melanesia that the first woman issued from a cowrie shell.[88] Shells were not worshiped, but were thought of as an attribute of some goddess.

In this connection another aspect of shell symbolism is found, the belief which Pliny mentions, that shells wax and wane with the moon, since the moon god was born from a shell, as it is held in India. It is reported that in some places cowrie shells were collected each month, three days after new moon and three days after full moon.[89] Shells were considered as the abode of deity, and their murmur as the voice of god.

Śiva is the god of procreation. One of his epithets is, "He who possesses the cowrie" (*Kapardin*), referring to the fact that his hair is braided in fashion to resemble a cowrie shell (*Kapardaka*).[90] The name is also given to Durgā, his consort.[91]

83. Book IX, Ch. 41.
84. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.
85. *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
86. *Children of the Yellow Earth*, Ch. 19.
87. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
88. *The Melanesians*, p. 26.
89. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
90. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. 250.
91. It is a name also of Pushan and of one of the Rudras.

Because it is supposed to resemble the *pudenda muliebra,* it receives the Latin name *concha venerea* ("the shell of Venus") or *porcellanea.* In Japan the vulgar name for the female parts is "shell." For this reason it is used as a "charm" or protection, or in the sense of sympathetic magic to insure fertility and ease in parturition. According to G. Elliot Smith,[92] the pig was identified with the Great Mother, as was also the cowrie (also called *porculus*), and the cowrie symbolized the human vulva. This idea, that the cowrie and the pig both have reference to the Great Mother, has interesting confirmation from Dr. Hutton,[93] who shows that the platform for the phallic stone among the Angamis must be ridged and wedge-shaped, suggestive of the omnipresent *yoni-liṅgam* symbol in India. The skull of the pig is wedge-shaped, as is the opening in the flat side of the cowrie viewed from a certain angle. In fact, the skull of the pig is also wedge-shaped in more or less conventionalized carvings in the Naga Hills.

The Latin adjective *porcinus* and the expression *caput porci* are both used of a wedge-shaped order of battle, and it seems likely that some supposed similarity of shape is responsible for the association between the female genitalia, cowries, and pigs, or at least pigs' heads. Compare the German *Hure* = whore, and the French *Nure de sanglier* (also of some fish), both associated by Liddell and Scott with χοῖρος.[94]

The name *cyprea, cypria,* is derived from one of the many attributes of Aprodite and the origin of her worship was early centralized in Cyprus.[95]

It is this superstitious belief in its relation to fecundity, due to the similarity of its ventral side to the vulva that has attracted such wide interest. However, Gibson[96] does not think that there is evidence to warrant the belief that in early China it was so used. He thinks that the pictographs do not hint at the use of cowries in other ways besides money; but he admits the possibility, before the Shang era, of the super-

92. *The Evolution of the Dragon,* pp. 219-21.

93. *Man,* 1940, No. 102.

94. χοῖρος, a young swine or pig, like *porcus* may refer to the *pudenda muliebria.* It is frequently used by the comic poets "who are always punning on the word."

95. Jackson, *op. cit.,* p. 139.

96. "Use of Cowries as Money during the Shang and Chou Periods," *"N. C. R. A. S."* (1940), LXX, 33 ff.

stitious use of the ventral side, and that when the dorsal side was filed away the suggestion of their use for magical purposes arises.

Concerning the shells which Sven Hedin found in the Tarim Basin, in 1900, Folke Bergman remarks: "The use of the cowrie as current money has had and still has a very wide distribution and it is known to have just as widely been appreciated as a charm, amulet or magical symbol."[97] This is probably due to its resemblance to the female organ. There was an Indian element in Lou-Lan, and they might have brought the cowries.

Brifault[98] says that the origin of the shells in the fertilizing waters (the sea) causes them to be regarded as life-giving. He insists that the belief that the shell represents the vulva is universally held. Most certainly the belief is widespread that it confers fertility on women and easy parturition.

C. W. Bishop[99] believes that its magico-religious significance is one of the cowrie's sources of value.

Mackay, in a remark about cowrie shells of the Indus River site, indicates his belief that they were not used as amulets or as money; but he points out that in modern Sindh they serve as a protection against the evil eye and as fertility charms.[100] His speculation is inconclusive in the light of what we find elsewhere.

Andersson[101] says that two accounts of the tenth and the seventeenth centuries report that the shells are caught by women only, and at new moon and full moon. Magic is clearly at work here.

Hutton says[102] that in the use of the cowrie by male Nagas, both with reference to head-taking and to intrigue with women, there is an implicit association with fertility values.

The cowrie plays its part in betrothal and marriage, and with young girls, in many places, as a means of communion with the spirit of fertility supposed to dwell in it.[103] Elwin reports that the Bastar aboriginals see

97. "Lou-Lan Wood Carvings and Small Finds Discovered by Sven Hedin," *Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Ostasiatiska Samlingarna,* VII, 133 (Stockholm, 1935).

98. *The Mothers,* III, 275.

99. *Origins of Far Eastern Civilization,* Smithsonian War Background Studies, No. 1, 1942.

100. *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro,* I, 582.

101. *Children of the Yellow Earth,* Ch. 19.

102. *Man,* 1940, No. 102.

103. Jackson, *op. cit.,* p. 127.

no semblance between the cowrie and the vulva, and that it has but a charm and not a fertility value. But cowries are in use in wedding ceremonies as offerings and in the headdress of the dancers of the Muria at weddings. They are worn in considerable numbers in the hair by girls, but are not worn by married women.[104] Along the upper Nile and elsewhere in East Africa, cowries are considered essential in betrothal ceremonies. Unmarried girls of the Akamba have aprons and belts adorned with cowries. These are discarded after the birth of the first child.[105] In some cases the aprons are presented by the grooms. In Nigeria the shell is a sign of virginity which a girl removes after marriage.[106] The Yuroba youth who finds his bride *virgo intacta* sends pure white cowries to her mother, otherwise some old, discolored ones. Hollis describes the Nandi wedding ceremony as follows:

> The bride, having been freshly oiled, shaved, and dressed in the *kiskisto* and *nariet* (the *nariet* headdress is made of leather and iron wire and is ornamented with chains and cowrie shells); a pair of wart-hog tusks in the shape of a crescent is bound to the front of the headdress if the girl is a virgin . . . [and] enters the house by the front door. Marriage is primarily a fertility rite, and the essential symbols are found here; cowrie shells, the pig, and crescent on the virgin brow. . . .[107]

Among the Khasias the shells are associated with marriage; and the throwing of five away is a symbol of marriage. In Abeshr (Wadia), Africa, at the wedding of the king's daughter thirty large baskets adorned with cowries and beads were carried.

The use of cowries in low-caste weddings in India is wellknown. For example, in the marriage ceremony of the Bhumij of Bengal, they place in the center of the marriage shed branches of *Mahua* and *sidha* bound together with five cowries and five pieces of turmeric.

Tabot[108] reports among the Ukella a deity called Akpa, who is represented as a female figure holding a baby fashioned from clay and decorated with cowries.

The Mātaṃgī, a priestess among the outcastes of South India, is asso-

104. *Man*, 1942, No. 72.
105. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
106. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLII, 153.
107. *The Nandi*, p. 90. Quoted in *Man*, 1942, No. 71.
108. *Southern Nigeria*, II, 119.

ciated with the *Basavī*, a dedicated woman whose wedding service is with the divinity of the temple. The chief insignia of the priestess is a necklace of cowrie shells. The woman is unmarried, but represents Kālī and is dedicated to the goddess Ellemmā.[109]

Not only is the shell used as a charm conferring fertility upon the bride, but also against sterility. Mr. Sheppard summarizes the position expressed by J. W. Jackson, in *Shells as Evidence of Migrations of Early Culture*, as follows:

> The cowrie was (and still is) widely believed to confer fertility on women and to help in the process of parturition. Cowries are worn by women as amulets, presented to them in many places as bridal offerings, and used by sterile and pregnant women to attain the respective benefits. . . . The association of cowrie shells with pregnancy is found as far away as India and Japan.[110]

The women of Pompeii wore cowrie shells as a charm against barrenness,[111] the practice continuing in Italy down to our time. Moreover, the cowries in Anglo-Saxon graves, as reported by T. C. Lethbridge,[112] were associated with female burials, one with the skeleton of a newly born child. To secure fertility Baganda women carry the shells in a small bag suspended over the abdomen. During pregnancy Muslim women in the Panjab carry a cowrie on the abdomen, under their clothes, to insure that the child be born alive.[113] Japanese women use powered shells for protection. And the Edo woman, in Africa, washes a cowrie and wears it in her waist for the same purpose.[114] Tibetan women wear them in their girdles. The shells are believed to help women in delivery. Japanese women used to hold a cowrie, the "birth shell," as a help at the time of birth.

Examples may be given to show the use of cowries for health or the protection of life in the face of disease. In Togoland they are offered to the small-pox fetish.

109. G. W. Briggs, *The Doms and Their Near Relations*, (Forthcoming book by the author).
110. *Man*, 1939, No. 200.
111. Brifault, *The Mothers*, III, 276.
112. *Man*, 1941, No. 37.
113. Rose, in *J. R. A. I.*, XXXV, 279.
114. *Man*, 1940, No. 78.

In processions for the Goddess, the Goddess-of-cholera in Western India, the dominant figure is a man who has long hair falling on his shoulder. He has very ample skirts, as of a woman, flouncing about his ankles, which are decorated with tinkling ornaments. His face is smeared red in spots with vermillion; around his neck hang chain upon chain of cowrie shells. . . .[115]

Banjāras lead a sick man to their sacred bullock, known as Ha Tādiya, "that which it is an extra sin to slay," devoted to their godling Bālajī.

No load is ever laid on his back. He is decorated with silken streamers and cowrie shells; he moves at the head of the convoy, and when he is tired, the place where he lies down is the halting place for the day; they make vows at his feet when trouble overtakes them, and trust him to cure all illness of men and cattle.[116]

Bastar aborigines wave cowries to drive out sickness and the spirits of evil.[117] In Togoland the shell is used in the circumcision rite.

Since their life-giving power was so significant, the larger the number offered in a given circumstance, the greater was the benefit to be realized. They became valuable for possession, so that cows, goats, and sheep were exchanged for cowries for social and magical advantage. They would even give a sixty-two pound ivory tuck for 1,000 cowries. At first the Baganda gave two in exchange for a woman; later 2500 were obtained for a cow to make the dowry offered to the bride.[118]

This magical value of the shell in enhancing fertility may be extended to vegetation. It is almost universally believed, in early civilizations, that there is some intimate casual relation between human fertility and the increase of the crops, and this finds expression in rituals the world over. Cowrie shells are used to propitiate tree spirits, in Africa and in India. The Holī is one of the most widespread and popular of Indian festivals. It is a vernal fire festival. In some places seven eggs, twenty-one cowries, and rice are placed where the fire is to be laid, and then buried about a foot deep, and a castor oil plant is set in the hole. This procedure is bristling with fertility magic. In central India a cowrie is attached to the leaf packet of seeds connected with the *bidri* ceremony that immedi-

115. A. Robertson, *The Mahar Folk*, p. 68.
116. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 366.
117. *Man*, 1942, No. 72.
118. Smith in Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

ately precedes the sowing of the "rains crops." Grigson describes the custom amongst certain Gonds:

> Each cultivator brings a measure of grain to the *bhumka* before the shrine of Dongar Deo, and out of the seed thus presented the *bhumka* gives back to each a small leaf packet of "lucky" seed, which the householder takes back and fastens to the basket which he will use to contain his seed, when he starts sowing a few days later. Attached to each packet of seed which I saw thus fastened to the seed-baskets were a small white dried onion, intended to represent millet-cobs that would result from the sowing, and also a cowrie shell.[119]

Although the Gonds attribute to the cowrie the function of averting the evil eye, there must certainly be involved here some sort of fertility concept, at least at some earlier time.

Their being put on animals, such as cattle, horses, and goats, is indicative of this sort of protection as well as protection against the evil eye. This applies widely in Africa and in Asia.

There is a curious practice of filing the dorsal side of the cowrie flat so that it may be sewn on the clothing in such a way as to show the ventrical side. This rubbing down is a very ancient practice, extending down to the present, and is widespread. At Karnak, at Abydos, in Nubia, at El Amrah, in the Transcaucasia, where they have already been recorded, some of the shells have been so altered. This practice was at least as old as the Shang period in China.[120] Three of those found in the Tarīm Basin by Sven Hedin, in 1900, have the dorsal side ground down.[121] Such shells are found in South India, on our Pacific Coast,[122] and now in East Africa, on the upper Nile, and in Liberia.

Unmutilated cowries and imitation cowries were perforated so as to be worn on the clothing. It must be remembered that ornamentation is not the only reason for wearing them, for their life-giving or preserving quality, "good luck" value, and other particular values as protection against the evil eye are inherent in ornamentation. The life-conferring aspect of these shells may be utilized in attaching cowries to a child's cradle or to a baby's cap. An interesting amulet, found in Corfu and Montenegro, is a Christian medal combined with a cowrie.

119. *Man*, 1940, No. 187.
120. Gibson, *op. cit.*
121. Folk Bergman, *op. cit.*
122. Holmes, *Second Report of American Bureau of Ethnology*, (1883), p. 221.

Undoubtedly one of the reasons for placing cowries in graves is connected with belief in their life-giving property. They are found decorating the *crux ansata* or *tau* cross, which in ancient Egypt is everywhere a symbol of life. It is true that as money or wealth they may make up part of the grave furnishings of the dead. They may be regarded as money to pay the expenses of the journey of the dead person to the next world, or for use after his arrival. For example, four cowries were put into the hands of the dead chief in Nigeria.[123] The head Lhota Naga has money for the road, in the form of cowries tied to his wrist.[124] Smith says that, when the cowrie is placed in the mouth of the dead, it is changed to a coin called "Charon's fare."[125] In China, in ancient times, in preparation of the dead, a cowrie was put into the mouth. Among the Muria a handful of cowries is thrown into the grave, and the covering of the corpse has cowries attached to it. It is also an offering to ancestors and serves as money to help the soul to the abode of his ancestors.[126]

This practice of putting cowries into the grave, however, may also have had, in the past, significance as a life or rebirth charm. It is generally considered that there is a "fecundity" aspect to this practice. This is evidenced by their distribution in burials nearly all over the old world, in both ancient and modern times, for example, in Egypt in the earliest times, and in Anglo-Saxon and East Yorkshire graves in England.[127] Some of these were associated with female skeletons. The cowries confer vitalizing power and insure the continuance of existence to the deceased, not merely life but resurrection.[128] In women's graves of the Middle Ages in France and in England, cowries were placed for fertility.[129] Some Africans decorate the heads of deceased relatives with cowries. And in Sierra Leone necklaces of shells are worn as mourning for a wife. Creel[130] suggests that their presence in neolithic Chinese graves found value in their life-giving quality. Kenyon[131] points out

123. *Man*, 1940, No. 78.
124. *Ibid.*, No. 102.
125. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.
126 *Man*, 1942, No. 72.
127. T. Sheppard, *Man*, 1939, No. 200.
128. *Ibid.*
129. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
130. *Birth of China*, p. 90.
131. *Op. cit.*

that imitation cowries in pearl shell, stone, wood, and clay were used for funeral purposes and in the earliest dynasties. Jackson gives a considerable list of early grave sites which contain cowries,[132] including Bosnia urn burials, others near Danzig, West-Prussia, and in Mentone caves. Some of these are prehistoric, and some are associated with Cro-Magnon man and Magdalenian culture. In one case a cowrie was found on each thigh bone of a skeleton. Bowker writes of them as symbolic of fecundity gifts to the manes almost universally occuring among primitive peoples: "The significance of the ceremony itself (gifts to the ancestral spirits) is desire on the part of the celebrant (ancestor services) himself that he may appear in the part of an ancestor at some future time which necessitates the continuance of his line by means of sons and grandsons."[133] The Baganda placed cowries with the jawbone and the umbilical cord of the dead king.[134]

Cowries were also offered to twins; and, if one of them died, a "double" was made for it, and supplied with these vitalizing shells. "Not only in East Africa, but also in many other places the cowrie was thus brought into intimate relationship with the peculiar beliefs connected with 'heavenly twins' and 'doubles,' with the placenta and the soul."[135] Among the Baganda the grandmother gives shells to each of a pair of twins, and everyone coming to see them throws shells into a basket. In case of the death of one of the twins, the body is embalmed and the ghost is caught by the medicine man and made up into a "twin" decorated with shells, which is put into a wooden pot and preserved.

While it seems clear that the cowrie has always been thought of as, by its very appearance, a symbol of life or fertility, there is another view which seems to be old and widespread, the notion that the flat side of the shell, when held horizontally, resembles a partly closed eye. Miss Murray holds that this is the only significance of the shell. Elliot Smith suggests that eyes are a charm against the evil eye due to their fertilizing and vitalizing power.[136] But there is also the notion of fixed gaze which drives away evil.

132. *Op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.

133. H. F. Bowker, *Coin Collector's Journal* (1943), x, No. 4, 93 c. Note the practice among the Muria recorded above.

134. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

135. *Ibid.*

136. *Ibid.*, p. xix.

The use of the shells as eyes is common in images, often with no suggestion beyond their representing eyes. This remark applies to Assam, Borneo, and Melanesia, according to J. H. Hutton.[137] Miss Murray gives evidence from New Guinea.[138] The skulls of those slain in battle in New Guinea were covered with a preparation of wax, the eyes being represented by small cowries.[139] In Borneo, cowries are set in the eye-sockets of heads taken. The Tiv use cowries for eyes in their wax images representing ancestors. In Egypt they were inserted into the orbits of the mummies to represent eyes. In Housa the word for eye is *wuri* and the plural *kur'di* (cowrie). This *kur'di* is the Hindu word *kauḍi* (cowrie). Their other word for "eye," *ijiya,* also means cowrie.[140] In the Housa saying, "He used some magical power over me," the word for eye is cowrie. Among these people cowrie means eye.

The Yuroba diviners use cowries in connection with second sight, and the shell is worn by the diviner. In Bastar, the diviner wears a woman's jacket adorned with cowries.[141] In "Cairo" at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1891, a man told fortunes by casting cowries. And divination by means of the shells occurs in Africa. Among the Baganda pieces of leather decorated with these shells are used. Professor Herskovits found them used in divination in Brazil. The use of the shells in divination may be due to their resemblance to eyes. But the rubbed-down cowrie is used in divination in Liberia. At ordeals for the detection of murder in Togoland, the priest blows poison toward the sun out of a cowrie shell, and if the poison falls down as blood the guilt is proven.[142] Sixteen cowries are used in casting prognostication of war or peace, and they are also used in arranging code messages.

The almost universal use of cowries in India, as worn on the necks and waist of children, and their appearance on women and children and on domestic animals, especially those subject to demonic dangers, might easily be interpreted in terms of the power of preserving life. This would be a good explanation of their employment to counteract the evil eye. For there is no question whatever about this significance of cowrie in India.

137. *Man,* 1940, No. 102.
138. *Ibid.,* 1942, No. 94.
139. *Ibid.*
140. *Ibid.,* 1941, No. 36.
141. *Ibid.,* 1942, No. 72.
142. *Jackson, op. cit.,* p. 158.

As an eye, it stares the evil eye out of countenance or counteracts its force (life quality, divine origin). The belief in the evil glance or fascination, *nazar,* as it is called in some parts of India, is almost universal. G. D. Hornblower recalls:

> An assistant excavator with Sir Flinders Petrie told me, late in the last century, that if a statue or the head of one was found, a rush must be made to guard it since the workmen would hack out the eyes immediately, fearful as they were that through the eyes the spirit of the long dead man would work terrible harm. The eyes of many of the old statues were made often in the most life-like manner possible; sometimes a tiny disk of bright metal was inserted behind the crystal covering the eyes in such a way that it caught and reflected light and gave the impression that the eye was glancing round and still alive.[143]

Dr. Jeffreys says that, in Southern Nigeria, the evil eye is practically unheard of, and that not the half-closed eye, but the fixed, unwinking glare of a god or a statue was dangerous. C. K. Meek, on the other hand, says that the evil eye is very much feared in Northern Nigeria. He writes:

> Pregnant women are afraid of being "overlooked," parents are afraid of the evil eye on their children, farmers on their crops. The food of chiefs and priests is often prepared and eaten in secret as a precaution against witchcraft from the eyes of sorcerers; and the Nigerian custom, by which chiefs used to speak from behind curtains, is explained by some Nigerians as a defense against the evil eye of subjects, though others would say that it protects the subjects from the "magical eye" of the chief. The Hausa indeed have a proverb, *ido guba re,* "the eye is poison."[144]

In explaining this term, Dr. Bargery in his *Hausa Dictionary* (p. 473) says: "The human eye is considered to possess a power of evil, and therefore, if a person is partaking of any snack of food he will give a morsel to an onlooker; similarly a patient will hide a wound from an onlooker."[145] Animals can kill with the flash of their eye. Thus the roan antelope, when it has been severely wounded and lies down to die, keeps one eye open, and if the hunter approaches it before it has died, and meets its dying glance, he will be pursued by the animal's ghost until his own soul has been captured.[146] Even their presence in Anglo-Saxon

143. *Man,* 1941, No. 81.
144. *Ibid.,* No. 36.
145. Quoted by Dr. Jeffreys, *Ibid.*
146. *A Sudanese Kingdom,* by C. K. Meek, p. 418.

graves leads T. C. Lethbridge to say that it is reasonable to suppose that these cowries were worn as representatives of an eye to ward off the evil eye.[147]

In the Near East, stylized cowries of metal are found. There they are used as eyes for protection against the evil eye, and their relation to barrenness seems to be through their power to avert the effects of the evil eye.[148]

Miss Murray holds that the evil eye affects the reproductive organs of both sexes, and that the cowrie is a charm protecting both. The shell is used in the wider sense in the protection of animals, including geldings, mules, and bullocks, as well as unaltered domestic animals.

The "Evil Eye" conceived of a mesmeric power, or power in some mysterious way effective for ill, is exercised by persons known or unknown. Its effects are apparent in wasting diseases, bad luck, and the various ills that beset humans, beasts, and things. It is controlling, overcoming, or eradicating the effects of the evil eye that the cowrie is used. In this particular, there is no question as to the meaning of the cowrie, and this is one of its principal uses. So it is worn by those most subject to dangers of fascination. For example, cowrie shells almost universally in India are worn on the necks or waists of children to ward off the evil eye. In Northern Nigeria pregnant women, children, and the food of chiefs and priests were protected by these shells. A cowrie on a child's cradle or in a baby's cap furnishes protection.

Barrenness may be due to the evil eye; consequently the cowrie may have in this case a double efficacy. Crooke reported the belief that the shell which one uses, will crack when the evil eye falls upon it.

The widespread use of the shells as protection against the evil eye is further illustrated among the Gallas.[149] The same is true for the Balkans,[150] and, as already suggested, for peninsular India.[151]

Various other ways in which the cowrie is associated with magic may be cited regarding its potency in contending with evil powers. In the Upper Sudan, a string of the shells is placed around the neck of a woman when she is believed to be possessed of an evil spirit.[152] In the Raymahak

147. *Man*, 1941, No. 37.
148. M. E. Durham, *Ibid.*, No. 13.
149. Recorded by Brifault from P. Soleillet, *Voyages en Ethiopie*, p. 260.
150. *Man*, 1940, No. 101.
151. *Ibid.*, No. 187.
152. *Sudan Notes and Records*, J. H. Driberg, v, 221.

Hills, sorcerers fixed cowrie shells to their foreheads before commencing their incantations.[153] And its use by the Australian medicine-man in desperate cases is recorded, when he rubs his patient all over with a cowrie shell. Cowries are attached to horse trappings in Persia as a protection against the evil eye, as they are used for elephants in India, and on camels in Egypt. From Morea there was reported, in 1907, a charm on a horse which consisted of a boar's tusk with a pendant cross formed of four cowries sewn on leather.[154] A sacred bullock of the Banjāras is decorated with cowries in connection with a sort of magic function which he performs. As shells cannot grow in the earth, the sowing of shell-money at the gate of a captured city was a magical method of causing the site to be barren forever.[155] Their use in the *bidri* ceremony (mentioned above), and in ornamenting the *pān supārī* bags of the Banjāras, suggests the same belief in their magic influence.[156] Ḍom witches gain power over men on their own account or on behalf of others by throwing cowrie shells over them.[157] Some Ibo, when a child cuts its first tooth, take him to a priest, who ties bands of cowries round his waist.[158]

And further, as protection against all evils, as a talisman, as in Australia, it is "lucky" in both its symbolic meanings, often in a combination of them. A Japanese puts shells away with his clothes, for luck. If he has no shells, he substitutes a pornographic picture exhibiting the female genital organs. Its significance is indicated in funeral, marriage, and circumcision rites; in hunting and fishing; as a gift to rivers, springs, trees; on houses, shrines, and graves. In the Naga Hills, the head hunter's victory sign is a cowrie. In Formosa, the battle helmet is decorated with boar's tusks and cowrie shells, the latter set horizontally as eyes for luck. Miss Murray, who shows a picture of the helmet,[159] remarks that "no warrior would go into battle wearing the representations of the female genitalia." But is this true? Dr. Jeffreys[160] challenges her remark.

For ages they have been used as charms in hunting and fishing, and in

153. C. F. G. Cummings, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas*, I, 201.
154. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
155. Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 288.
156. G. W. Briggs, *op. cit.*, ch. VII.
157. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, II, 329.
158. *Man*, 1940, No. 78.
159. *Ibid.*, No. 188.
160. *Ibid.*, 1942, No. 71.

the Pacific are attached to the nets of fishers.[161] Their association with head hunting occurs in places as far apart as the Djibba of Africa and the Nagas of Assam. Eyes were used to help ships and were painted on the bows, as, for example, in Torres Strait. "Early Egyptians believed in the possibility of animating their ships and converting them into living beings. They painted representations of eyes upon the bows of their ships so that, as living things they might be able to see their way."[162] Shipbuilders of the Arabian littoral, the Far East and Oceania adopted the custom of attaching cowries, or other shells, to the bows of their ships.

It is often difficult to say whether the shell is meant to function as the symbol of the vulva or as an eye. In may instances both functions are discernible, although the meaning has become more or less obscured. Elwin says that in Bastar the aborigines do not see an eye in the ventral slit in the cowrie. But their Hindu neighbors do recognize these functions.[163]

Jackson[164] concludes his study with the remark that the same complex of values *arbitrarily chosen* everywhere marks the cowrie: money, conferer of the blessings of fertility to women and crops, cure for sterility, granter of easy parturition, good luck in games and in enterprise, protection against the evil eye, preservation of the dead and conferring resurrection and life, parent of mankind, and dwelling place of the gods. Through it the gods may be summoned to be present at ceremonies of initiation, at deaths and burial, in battle and in harvesting.

Thus we have seen that the shell is worn by both men and women, by the latter both openly and secretly; that it has undoubtedly a fertility or life-giving and life-saving significance; that it is in almost universal use as a protection against the evil eye, being conceived of as an eye itself; that its uses in magic center around its power as representing the vulva and the eye. As possessing these powers it has value which has contributed to its use as a medium of exchange from very early times and nearly all over the world.

161. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
162. *Ibid.*, pp. xx f.
163. *Man*, 1942, No. 72.
164. *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

THE BEGINNING OF THE NATIONAL IDEA*

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TWO HUNDRED YEARS before the French Revolution, the basic rights of nations were formulated in some pointed sentences which, in power and clarity of expression, have not been surpassed since. They assert that every people has its own nature and its own character or form (*Gestalt*), that every people has a might of its own and ought not to be subject to any other people, that every people has its natural habitation and a right to live there, and that it must be granted to every people to choose its own God according to its own ideas. All this, however, is not proclaimed as a conventional human statute, but as founded in the order of the world itself, so that every trespass against it means a violation of the world order.

The man who was the first to formulate these sentences was not a statesman, nor a student of political science, nor one of the great teachers of natural and international law. It was Rabbi Loewe ben Bezalel, the "high Rabbi Loew" of whom the legend of the Ghetto at Prague speaks as having been the creator and master of the mysterious "Golem," and of whom a reliable report proclaims that Emperor Rudolph II summoned him, probably to consult him about his experiments in alchemy. We may consider Rabbi Loewe the real initiator of a specifically Jewish philosophy of history, an idealistic attempt to understand the historic fate of the people of Israel in its connection with a divinely directed world history. By him all the different traditional interpretations of the wanderings of the tribes, and of the origin of the people of Israel, of their deportations and liberations, are thought through anew, are reshaped in their profundity, and—as had never been done before—are woven into a unity which, as such, has had its after-effects to our own days. It is true, however, that nowhere in Rabbi Loewe's writings has this unity taken on the form of a system, not even in his chief work, *The Eternity of Israel,* which is built around the Messianic idea of history. But, if one persists in searching for it in all his books, one will discover that what is found there fits into an articulated religious conception of

* Translated from the German of Martin Buber.

history, unique of its kind. And from it shine forth those sentences about the fundamental rights of peoples—in an unpretentious but inclusive universality which is truly astonishing.

If one compares Rabbi Loewe's doctrine of nations with that of Christian thinkers of the same period—roughly from the beginning of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century—one realizes immediately that none of them conceived of national existence as he did. If we place side by side three representative political systems of three different generations of that period, the system of Machiavelli (who died during the early years of Loewe's life, that of Calvin (who was born several years before him), and that of Grotius (who was twenty-five at the time of Loewe's death), we find that they all agree in conceiving of a people (nation) and state as a unity. However, they are far more interested, though to different degrees, in the state. To Machiavelli, the nations are, above everything else, the populations of territories, each of which possesses a particular cultural individuality, it is true, but, at the same time, owes its real bond and even its right of existence to its unity as a state (or if this has been forfeited in the course of time) as a territory. For Calvin's system, the unity of the nation as such is more predominant—in general he of all thinkers comes closest to Rabbi Loewe. To him, Divine choice of collective entities is the decisively important fact, and naturally this choice applies to nations and not to states; here the biblical idea of the "holy people" has been preserved. However, according to Calvin, a people can fulfill its great religious tasks only as a sovereign state. This, too, is an outcome of his Old Testament thinking, but is exaggerated to a degree that would necessarily remain inacceptable to the Jewish tradition and to an exponent of this tradition such as Loewe. To Grotius, the weight of political existence within the national life seems still greater than it does to Calvin, though not as great as to Machiavelli. He considers political sovereignty the essential emanation of the spiritual unity of a people. If a people loses its sovereignty it loses its *Gestalt*.

As against all these conceptions of a people, Rabbi Loewe's idea is the affirmation of the nation as such; its own territory and independence belong to a nation as long as the world-order is undisturbed; however, if a nation has lost both, territory and independence, it may indeed be considered sick and handicapped in its functioning, but not deprived of its essence and not unable to fulfill its specific tasks. Only a century after Rabbi Loewe there arose a Christian thinker who, like Loewe, based his

approach to history upon the existence of autonomous nations, and who, by the way, is also close to Rabbi Loewe in his basic differentiation between the history of Israel and that of the other nations. This is the founder of modern historiosophy, Giambattista Vico.

It is easy to understand why it happened to be a Jew who was the first to formulate the basic rights of a nation as nation. Here was a people which no longer rested in its own right, but was subjected to other peoples; which had lost its place on earth and was forced to live dispersed in other lands, and which was scorned and tortured because it remained faithful to the God whom it had chosen for itself. All this—the Jew understood—was against the order of nature; it happened because the order of nature had been disturbed; but it will be restored again. What belongs to all nations must again be given to this one too. Loewe ben Bezalel recognized as the basic rights of all nations what his own people of all peoples lacked. To be sure, there were other peoples in history (and well did our learned author know this) who had been deprived of their independence, whose land had been wasted, and whose religion had been suppressed. However there was none whose fate it was to combine all these deprivations. It was necessary to show, it was necessary to say—though not to warn the nations, for it was impossible to reach their ears—but it was necessary, in order to comfort his own people, to say that there are basic rights of nations, rights of nations that are founded in the order of the world, rights to which Israel had a claim just as did all the other nations, and which God according to that order established by Himself cannot deny to Israel.

For Christian thinkers of the time, too, particularly for Calvin, Israel was of essential importance as the model of a nation that was chosen by God, and as the model of a nation which recognizes God alone as its supreme ruler. But this regard was accorded to biblical Israel alone; the quality of a chosen people and the principle of theocracy were considered to be transmitted to the Christian nations; the continuity between Israel and the Jews was hidden from the Christian eye. To the Jews, however, this continuity meant everything; it meant their bond with the days of creation, their bond with the days of the Messiah. For Loewe ben Bezalel it was necessary to show that the Jews, in spite of their lack of national existence, were still the living people who at one time had entered history, and as a living people were entitled to all the rights of the nations.

To Loewe, it is true, the essential thing about Israel was not what it had in common with other nations, but what distinguished it from all the other nations as a species of its own—its holiness. For, in the same hour in which the people of Israel became a nation, the great name of God was proclaimed over them. There was no time in the beginning at which they were just a nation and not also a nation of God; rather, they were chosen when they were created as a people, for already in Abraham they were chosen in a "general," inclusive, and unalterable way. This uniqueness of Israel, however, was erected upon that basic quality of being a nation, a quality which it shared with all the other peoples, and which bestowed upon it the rights and privileges of a nation. The order of this "choice" was erected upon the order of the creation to which the Creator had bound Himself unto everything that was creation, and, as one of the nations, Israel belonged to the realm of creation. Rabbi Loewe's doctrine of nations is founded in a rational system. In his exposition of the rights which are inherent in the Jewish people—as in every people—he is a rationalist; but where he ponders about that which distinguishes this people specifically from all the others, he becomes an irrationalist. Israel as a nation, and only as a nation, has rights; Israel as Israel receives judgment and mercy.

"Every nation," says Rabbi Loewe, "has two aspects, one as a people, and this aspect stands in the relation of matter, the other as this particular people, and this stands in the relation of form." Though this is thought in terms of the Aristotelean categories, it is yet aimed at something particular, namely, at the specific problem which is Loewe's main objective. From the viewpoint of matter—and we have to start from this viewpoint—every people is a people; that which all peoples have in common constitutes the "matter" of any people. This common matter, however, in every people is wrought into that peculiar form by which the personal existence of the nation is constituted. First it must be established that Israel is a people, and all the conclusions that follow must be drawn from this. Then only will one become, as it were, free to recognize what kind of people this Israel is. Then one will be able to see that its essence and its ways are still distinguished from all else that is called people. Then one recognizes an origin, a fate, and a destiny which are so different from those of other peoples that the differences which exist between the latter themselves become unimportant, and only two are finally juxtaposed to each other—Israel and "the nations of the world."

"It is not proper that one people subjects another, that it puts its yoke on that other people." "It is not in accordance with nature nor with the order of the world that one people be under another people." For "every existence has a might of its own, since it is not proper for any existing being to be under the hand of another being." Rabbi Loewe emphasizes that this is "a very great principle." From this principle it follows that the subjection of Israel to the nations means a violation of the world-order, a disease that has befallen the world at this point. Israel itself in its exile is like a sick person who has stepped out of the natural state of man. From this alone it can already be understood that the Shekinah, the "dwelling" of God is with Israel, as it is said in the Divine word addressed to the Prophet: "I will dwell with him who is crushed and humiliated in spirit," for the essential abiding place of the Shekinah is below. However, if Israel fulfills the will of God, then—and only then, it is true—it excells all the nations of the earth. And this is truth of a sphere different from the rational world-order which is intelligible by means of human reason. There, where the earth reaches up to heaven and makes the latter's will its own, there the Divine penetrates into the human.

"Man," says Loewe ben Bezalel, "chooses for himself a Deity who he believes participates in himself." Even though a people knows that there is a might greater than the one which is theirs, they still commonly choose their own essence as God. Not so the people of Israel; they have elevated as their Lord the unconditional might, the God of all Gods. However, it is true, they have deserted Him. While all nations hold fast to the partial forces that are proper to them (that befit them), Israel has "exchanged" the Glory of the All-God "for that which is of no avail," as it is said in Scripture. Their exile is to be understood from this: Israel has broken the order of choice and revelation, and the after-effect of this deed is a break in the order of creation, of the creation of nations. Israel steps out of its natural state as a nation.

Rabbi Loewe also starts from the natural world order in his discussion of the relation between the people of Israel and their land. Every people has its natural *locus*. According to the order established by God, every people should abide in its natural locus; if it leaves that, it can nowhere achieve firm footing, for all other places are unnatural and can never become natural to it. Only by returning to its place does it find the way back into the Divine order. Israel's natural place is "the land of Israel."

And here again Rabbi Loewe superimposes supernatural reasoning upon the rational argumentation, so that the former is based upon the latter. Every person, so he teaches, has a right to that place which corresponds to his nature, and so has a nation. Therefore the holy land has been given to the holy nation. This holiness of the nation, however, is to be understood only from the fact that Israel was created last among the nations, even as man was last among the creatures. And just as the nature of man cannot be deduced from the nature of other creatures, so the nature of Israel cannot be deduced from that of the other nations. And yet Israel is a beginning, or even the real beginning. For there is a double sense of "beginning." Even a kingdom which, like the fourth kingdom of Daniel's vision, will become all-inclusive so that there be no reality outside of it, and which, therefore, destroys everything, may deem itself to be a beginning. Therefore, Amalek, the arch-enemy of God in Bileam's prophecy, is called the "beginning of the peoples." In regard to that element by which the nations are different from Israel, in the god-blind operation of power, Amalek is foremost among all the others. Of Israel, however, it is said in Jeremiah that it is sacred to God, that it is "the beginning of his harvest," and the Midrash rightly explains the opening words of Holy Scripture, the words "In the beginning," as referring to this beginning. In willing this beginning, for the sake of this beginning, God created heaven and earth. For the goal of the seed that was sown in the creation is the messianic world-harvest, and Israel is destined and called upon to become its beginning, consecrated to God, just as everyone in Israel consecrates the firstlings, the "beginnings" of his harvests, of every product of his soil, as an offering to God.

However, in his combination of superrational and rational thinking, Loewe ben Bezalel pushes even further. Every creature exists in the relative perfection of his specific kind; only the creature whose kind approaches perfection is imperfect in this his nature. Thus it is with the Israelites, who more than all nations are children of God. This highest quality has not reached perfection in Israel. As being imperfect in their perfect nature, they rank beneath the angels; but, in their defect, their definite excellence is at the same time contained. Different in this respect from the angels, they can grow, and as growing beings, as having the ability to grow to perfection, they are closer to God than the angels. At the same time, their guilt and their fate are determined by their defect,

because what is imperfect in its kind is in a particular way exposed to satanic temptation. This is all the more so, the higher the species, for the higher the nature of a being is, and the more it emerges from the broad masses, the more easily the power that wills to destroy its character attaches itself to it. So, among all creatures man is particularly exposed to sin, and, therefore, Israel, in the very hour after it had received the revelation and entered upon the highest stage, was doomed to sin. It is this at which the words of Scripture are aimed: "I said: Ye are godlike beings, And all of you sons of the Most High. Nevertheless ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." Just because of their holiness, they were punished more severely than any other nation, for they digressed the farthest from what was right for them.

Rabbi Loewe, in accordance with one doctrine of the tradition, conceives of punishment as a purification. He visualizes it in two metaphors: the sufferings of the exile melt the ore and separate the precious metal from the dross; or, again, they crush the olives and separate the oil from the waste. The transformation that takes place in this separating process is aimed at the overcoming of that defect: the imperfection of the perfect nature which has erupted into sin. Thus the rebirth of Israel prepares itself. In the darkness of the exile, the hidden supreme force that longs to step into the light, separates itself from everything which pollutes and impedes it, and thus it grows to its perfect form. The spreading of the "vicious kingdom" over the entire world is like the nine months of pregnancy. After this, that Israel will be born which is called "Israel-Man."

Loewe ben Bezalel does not hesitate to contemplate this messianic occurence under the metaphor of the creation. All the destruction that happens to Israel and its land precedes the new reconstruction, just as the chaos necessarily preceded the creation of heaven and earth. Darkness covers the universe before the light is called into being.

And, here again, Rabbi Loewe starts from the rational realm to lift himself up. As every nation has the right to be free, so it cannot be deprived of its liberty forever. This is founded in God's relation to the order established by Him. "He, blessed be He, orders everything that exists; it is impossible that from Him should emanate anything that deviates from the order—unless it be temporarily only." Thus Rabbi Loewe understands the Midrash interpretation of the words which God addresses to Abraham in Gen. 15:13: "Know, know!" The first "know," the Midrash explains, means, "Know that I enslave them," the second,

however, means, "Know that I rescue them." An enslavement of nations cannot remain permanent. And the same holds true with respect to the banishment of a nation from its natural place, in which it is destined to dwell collectively; this banishment can be only temporary. "The dispersion is not in accordance with the order of the existing world; it is not in accordance with this order that a homogeneous being such as Israel, which is a homogeneous people, should remain dispersed."

All natural things are according to their nature collected in themselves, all the brooks flow toward the ocean, and so all dispersion tends toward collection. The people of Israel, however, is in its essence more undivided and unsundered than all the other nations. Therefore, it is particularly appropriate for it that it be gathered. The saying "all of Israel vouch for each other" points toward that particular unity "which cannot be found in any other nation." Israel is like a man, all of whose limbs feel it if one of them is injured, because they are all one body. Therefore, it is most important that Israel preserve and strengthen its unity, for man has to collaborate with God. In its dispersion among the nations, Israel is not considered a nation of its own, because a nation is something whole. Israel, however, continues to exist overtly only in parts. Therefore, the people of Israel have to concentrate all their power upon preserving and strengthening their unity, and must beware of all separation. As parts they are exposed to the influence of the others; they are not the acting ones, but they are acted upon. For the part which has to exist as a part is weak and subjected; the whole, however, is strong and gains its independence on account of its wholeness. If Israel lives in real peace, all its parts at peace with one another, then Satan, "the power over non-being," has no access to it, because then Israel—in spite of being dispersed—exists as a whole, undivided people. Moreover, if it is divided in itself, then it adds new division and dispersion to those which are forced upon it. If Israel succeeds in really becoming a nation, united in itself, then by this fact alone the *exodus* from the dispersion and the exile is accomplished—an exodus before the exodus.

The collecting and uniting force, however, lives in Israel in the midst of the dispersion. Rabbi Loewe visualizes this force in the likeness of the arch-mother, Rachel. She is not buried with the forefathers in the cave, but on the road; the uniting force stayed with Israel in exile, though not actually, yet at least potentially. From her tomb on the road Rachel rises again and again, and prays for mercy—that Israel be collected in its land.

Therefore, it is said in Jeremiah that to Rachel's lamentations God replies: her children will return into their country. There is a uniting force in the midst of the exile, and because of this force Israel will return to its home. It is this uniting force that leads Israel to perfection. For only through inner peace (*Shalom*) does one reach perfection (*Shelemuth*). However, it is also this uniting force that leads Israel into becoming united with God, for, only if Israel is one in itself, can it be linked to God who is himself one. For if the members of Israel are in a true covenant with each other, if the different ethnic parts and the different human races in Israel are united with each other and thus form a whole, as the four kinds of plants are united into the sheaf at the Feast of the Tabernacle, are they collected from their dispersion, and God raises himself above them as their King.

Israel's original sin, which was the first and decisive impetus for the coming of the exile was, according to Rabbi Loewe, the refusal of the people to penetrate further into the land of Canaan after the report of the spies had been made. The exodus from Egypt is "eternal," i.e., it is final and unalterable, for in its miracles the God-relation of the people of Israel was born. Not so the conquest of the country. Originally the exodus from Egypt and the entry into Canaan had been designated as one single action, i.e., the generation that left Egypt was also to be the one that entered Canaan. If that had been fulfilled, then the annexation of the country would have been an eternal and irrevocable fact. However, instead of recognizing the country as its natural place that was due to Israel, and instead of being filled with a yearning desire for this land, the people refused to enter it. Thus originated a contradiction between the factual relation of the people to the land and that relation which had been destined from primeval time. The result was that the "coming" was no longer eternal: the possibility of exile, excluded until then, existed from now on. The tears of the desert-generation had, as their consequence, the tears of all the exile-generations. It therefore depends on the people's relation to the country to what degree the connection between the two that had been destined from olden times may be realized.

In reality the holy people and the holy land belong to each other; both of them—the one as people, the other as land—represent the center of the world. Rabbi Loewe expressly refuses to accept any of those theories which would consider Palestine a middle land in a geographical or astronomical sense, because these contradict the simplest cosmological

facts. To these theories he contraposes the doctrine according to which Palestine is the middle in an organic sense; if we speak of the "navel of the world," we have to keep in mind that the navel is not the geometrical center of the body either, but it is the structural center of its form. Palestine is the center of the earth, because it has the quality of the center, namely the peculiarity of being equally distant from all extremes, from all "ends." Every extreme dissipates in non-being, because in this particular locus it negates being as such. In the center, however, being itself is concentrated beyond all ends, and it is for this reason that the entry into Palestine is called an ascent. The concentrated being is the real life, and therefore Palestine is called "the land of life." Moreover, the people of Israel is also essentially a middle. Rabbi Loewe, following Maimonides, compares Israel to the central shoot of the tree, as contrasted to those branches and twigs that grow out to the sides. These branches and twigs tend toward different spheres, every national branch toward the sphere of its particular nature and of its particular idea. The center shoot, however, which springs forth from the main stem does not incline to either side but tends straight upward toward the sky. God has planted this people neither with his right nor with his left hand, but with both hands, and so it is his own people. And so this people and this land belong together from primeval time by their very nature. In this sense, also, both of them are "set aside," not as if they were separated from the rest of the world, but they remain in their existence of the middle for the world's sake, an existence in which land and people are dependent upon each other, and which they can only fulfill together.

Of the two, however, the land is the first, and its influence is prior. The high stage of the patriarchs was reached through their connection with the land. "If the land had not been," says Rabbi Loewe, "the patriarchs had not reached supreme holiness, and thus the land has raised them to greatness." In the patriarchs the essence of the land presents itself in human form. The land belongs to the forefathers to whom it had been promised, but the forefathers belong to the land too. Therefore, the people of Israel possess the land only if and as long as they are like the forefathers; if they differ from them and their ways, then they no longer have any hold on the land.

Rabbi Loewe compares Israel's wisdom which grows in their country with Israel's wisdom in Babylon. The doctrine that grows in Palestine does not depart from harmony, for in that country which is the center of

the world, everything is in harmony. Babylon is, however, according to her origin (Gen. 11:9), a mixture without unity; therefore, acuteness and disputation have their home there. "In the land of Israel one acquired wisdom with ease." And just as the land of Israel makes the people of Israel develop and grow, so the land also receives gifts from Israel, upon whom the glory of God lies as long as it lives righteously in the country. The land receives from the people—as long as they live on it—its life-substance and the "incorporeal quality" at the same time; thus holiness fulfills itself in the land.

Since the people is banished from it, the land awaits their return in order to receive anew from them life-substance and spirituality together, and to renew its holiness. For "the Romans have not taken over the holiness from Jerusalem; they have not inherited it." The holiness has only "been lost," it is only "laid waste," but in this land it waits for the people in order to be renewed.

Nor does the people really live without the land. Here, once more, Loewe ben Bezalel links togther the rational and the superrational. That Israel was enslaved in Egypt was an outcome of its homelessness; for it had no real domicile as every nation has, and its people were born in a land that was not their own, as the slave is born in the house of his master. Only when Israel came into its land was it in its own might. There is, therefore, for Israel no other liberation than the return to its home. However, because it is the holy people, it cannot come into its own might save by coming into the might of God. And because the land of Israel is the holy land, Israel can come into its land only by coming to God. The purifying effect of the exile, the melting and separating of the dross in the furnace, the pressing of the oil from the olives, all this is purification for the Divine service. The Divine service of the nation as a nation, however, can take place nowhere but in the land of Israel.

The purifying work of the exile, however, is also directly purification for the service in behalf of the land. Amidst the slave-labor of Egypt, Israel turns more and more to the earth, to the soil; with its soul and its way of life it returns to the earth. Even the coercion of slavery contributes to this goal: the Egyptians force them "to all manner of service in the field" (Ex. 1:14), and so the shepherds learn again to cultivate the soil, as their forefathers had done, besides raising cattle. By turning to the cultivation of the soil the nation enters deeply into natural life. For man, Adam, has a basic, natural relationship to the soil, to *Adama,* his

origin. However, the deeper the nation enters into natural life, the more strongly it yearns for its land, the more seriously it prepares itself for it, and draws closer to it.

Every nation, so teaches Loewe ben Bezalel, has—according to the world-order—a right to its land. Thus the people of Israel, too, has a right to the land of Israel. Still God keeps it from Israel; this, however, not because it is less than a nation, but because it is more. Besides being a nation, it is Israel. The land has been given to Israel by God in view of Israel's particular task: to be "the beginning of the harvest." It is Israel's guilt that it did not fulfill this task when it lived in its land, and because of this guilt it has been exiled. But as soon as the people is purified the land will be given to it again—and so will its task.

Every nation, according to the world-order, has a covenant with its land. So also the people of Israel have a covenant with the land of Israel. This, however, is a covenant of a special kind, for it is a covenant between two "holy" beings, i.e., two beings each of which stands in a particular and immediate relation to God, namely, in a covenant with God. By this fact, however, everything is changed: Israel's fate emerges from the bright order of creation into the secret of the revelation—the clouds darken and the lightning flashes. The dreadful and merciful God strikes in order to heal, burns in order to purify,—and does not disturb the order of the world in which He thus intervenes.

THE SELF-ANALYSIS OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG*

KRISTINE MANN, M.D.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG was born in the year 1688 and died in 1772. To the psychologist his life is of extraordinary interest because of its sharp division into two widely contrasting phases: the earlier scientific and the later mystical. During his youth and middle-age he had devoted himself almost exclusively to scientific investigation and had contributed some new suggestion to every study that he took up: mining, metallurgy, mechanics, engineering, astronomy, geology, anatomy, physiology, and physics, and thus we could most certainly classify him as an intuitive type. But, in spite of his contributions to the world of science, he is probably more widely known for what he accomplished in the latter part of his life through his religious writings. These, though written in Latin originally, have been translated into many languages and have won for themselves an intelligent, if numerically small, following. For Swedenborg considered himself the revealer of a new interpretation of the Christian religion which he called the New Church, and this he conceived as nothing less than the second coming of Christ prophesied in Revelations as the coming of the New Jerusalem. It was not that he claimed to be Christ but, rather, that through him was to be revealed a new interpretation of the Bible so radical that it would revolutionize the out-worn Christian religion.

These two aspects of the life of Swedenborg are in striking opposition. He had, in the earlier period, shown himself clear-headed and scientific in his methods, backing up his intuitions for the most part with logical and coherent thinking. Suddenly, as looked at from the point of view of an outsider, he began to see visions and hear voices as if, from his point of view, he were being admitted by the grace of God into a region seldom explored by mortal man. The transition from successful scientist to eccentric mystic must have been an almost incredible experience—psychologically speaking. Yet perhaps we can find in its study values that can be directly applied to our own individual experiences, particularly because of the fact that Swedenborg kept track of his dreams and phantasies during the critical period of transition, giving also snapshot interpretations of these.

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Unfortunately, the dream-book covers only a short period of time, from July 21, 1743, to November 12, 1744, about one and a half years, when Swedenborg was in his fifty-fifth and fifty-sixth years. Yet his account, brief as it is, embodies his unconscious and conscious (pretty much mixed up together) reaction to the most crucial time in which the radical change referred to above was taking place. It was naturally never intended for publication, any more than are our own dream diaries, of which it is singularly reminiscent.

My plan is to take these dreams and show first, how far they follow the general course of any analysis, and second, wherein lie the extreme differences between Swedenborg's brief period of self-analysis (for, of course, he had no correction or direction from without) and the ordinary process of analysis experienced in some measure by all who have been analyzed. The value of this study, from my point of view, lies in the fact that Swedenborg, in spite of his strikingly original contribution to biblical interpretation, was fundamentally an orthodox Christian, so that his inability to carry his analysis through to individuation was due in part to his Christian theology, with its sharp distinctions of good and evil—and in part, also, to his limited knowledge of psychology, which in the modern sense had hardly come into existence in his age. The miracle is that it should ever have occurred to a man of that period to take note of his dreams at all, let alone to attempt to analyze them and gain suggestions from them for the carrying on of his life.

The first change of attitude as shown in the dreams was a turning in, an approaching realization of himself. This becoming more aware of oneself is the first step in all analyses. But we must not suppose that people have not been compelled to this consciousness of themselves during all ages. It was Socrates who regarded knowledge of the self as the root of all wisdom, expressed in the Greek phrase γνῶθι σεαυτόν—know thyself. The churches of all ages and all denominations have developed a language which actually states or clearly implies the importance of each one's taking upon his own shoulders his own shortcomings and doing something about it. The Christian religion, in particular, has emphasized the importance of looking within in such passages as "The kingdom of heaven is within you," "Make clean the inside of the platter," etc. But, in spite of the obvious emphasis in the Bible on inner spirituality rather than outer deeds, people have gone on without much concern for the darkness of the heart—the shadow side.

But the process of analysis has taken an incredibly great step forward in its study of human psychology, so that we can now understand more clearly the meaning of the Christian terms and the Christian experience as applied to our own lives. This enables those of us who can no longer find relief or comfort in the churches to meet in a new way the same difficulties which Christianity helped people to meet in earlier times by prayer and fasting, confession of sins, the Lord's Supper, and the Mass. For, in analysis, we meet our deepest problems by finding out through our dreams what our inner life is demanding of us, and trying to make this harmonize with the life which we must live in the world around us. This is what Swedenborg tried to do in a vague way and, although he uses throughout Christian terminology, it oftentimes does not differ in essence from the terms used in analysis.

At the period of the dreams, then, Swedenborg had come to the end of his rope along the line of thought that he had been following. There had to be some alteration in his life. This is the feeling that brings most people to analysis. They are forced to make a change, either because of actual difficulties in the outer world—a break-up of their marriage or of a friendship, the death of someone close to them, a failure in some enterprise, physical symptoms which are of psychological origin—or pure boredom with life. This latter always gives one the feeling of being prematurely old. A patient once said to me, "I feel as if I were a hundred years old—and yet I am only twenty-six."

But also there may be an inner conflict. And this was the case with Swedenborg. He had attained great distinction in his own country and never lacked the means to live comfortably. Apparently his outer life was going well, but the fact was that the scientific path he had been pursuing had grown arid to him. The age in which he lived had been strongly affected by the rational thought of Descartes, who had visited Sweden in 1649—just forty years before the birth of Swedenborg. A decided trend toward an over-emphasis on thinking as the most productive way to solve men's problems had been sweeping over western Europe. In his own personal life, too, Swedenborg, while a student at Upsala, had come under the strong influence of his brother-in-law, Eric Benzelius, who had been over-dominant in turning him towards pure science and away from his more natural poetic and mystical bent.

At all events, Swedenborg began, when over fifty years of age, to realize the sterility of the merely rational. Nor was he under any compul-

sion to pursue a wrong path because of financial needs or desire for worldly distinctions. He altered his course because of an inner pressure, a need for further development. There arose in his psyche, as if impelled from the unconscious, a longing for a deeper rapport with himself and with life. This is comparable to the physical forces causing increase of growth in the child. So Swedenborg began to question his own values and, when he turned his eyes inward, he saw himself as a pretty petty human being with all sorts of vanities, temptations, and what he called "sins." On account of the early recognition of his abilities, he must have considered himself as a truly great man; but as life went on he turned away somewhat disillusioned with ego satisfactions, and began to question what lay within the psyche, turning his attention toward his inner reactions to what was taking place outside, and this led him to his dreams.

The moment Swedenborg began to look to his dreams, however, a realization of his utter weakness as a human being swept over him, causing him intense distress and depression. For success in the world blinds most people pretty completely to their own shortcomings. A man of distinction, or a man thought well of by his neighbors, friends, or family, usually thinks of himself as a pretty fine fellow. To look below and beneath this superficial estimation requires courage, so that oftentimes the person who has not achieved much that counts in the world has an easier time passing through "the eye of a needle" than the man of attainment.

Analysis for Swedenborg, as for us, is a period of fundamental change in the psyche—a kind of conversion, to use a religious term—when, if the individual will let himself venture into the so-called unconscious, he passes through what has been described as "the dark night of the soul" and comes out in the end, under right conditions, a more complete individual.

One of the first emotions produced by such an experience as analysis is fear. This fear is a psychological state divorced, as a rule, from any cause in the outer world. It has been described very vividly by Henry James, the father of William and Henry, Junior, who like Swedenborg was forced into a radical change in his life, although at the age of thirty-three. As he was a particularly articulate man, his own description may well be quoted here:

One day, towards the close of May, having eaten a comfortable dinner, I remained sitting at the table after the family had dispersed, idly gazing at the embers in the grate, thinking of nothing, and feeling only the exhilaration incident to a good digestion, when suddenly—in a lightning-flash, as it were—"fear came upon me, and trembling, which made my bones to shake." To all appearances it was a perfectly insane and abject terror, without ostensible cause, and only to be accounted for, to my perplexed imagination, by some damned shape squatting invisible to me within the precincts of the room, and raying out from his fetid personality influences fatal to life. The thing had not lasted ten seconds before I felt myself a wreck, that is, reduced from a state of firm, vigorous, joyful manhood to one of almost helpless infancy. The only self control I was capable of exerting was to keep my seat. I felt the greatest desire to run incontinently to the foot of the stairs and shout for help to my wife,—to run to the roadside even, and appeal to the public to protect me; but by an immense effort I controlled these frenzied impulses, and determined not to budge from my chair till I had recovered my lost self-possession. This purpose I held to for a good long hour, as I reckoned time, beat upon meanwhile by an ever-growing tempest of doubt, anxiety, and despair, with absolutely no relief from any truth I had ever encountered save a most pale and distant glimmer of the Divine existence,—when I resolved to abandon the vain struggle, and communicate without more ado what seemed my sudden burden of inmost implacable unrest to my wife.

Now to make a long story short, this ghastly condition of mind continued with me, with gradually lengthening intervals of relief, for two years and even longer. I consulted eminent physicians, who told me that I had doubtless overworked my brain, an evil for which no remedy existed in medicine, but only in time, and patience, and growth into improved physical conditions. They all recommended by way of hygiene a resort to the water-cure treatment, a life in the open air, cheerful company, and so forth, and thus quietly and skillfully dismissed me to my own spiritual medication.[1]

The latter part of this is an excellent description of any attempt to solve psychological problems on a purely physical basis. It was this experience that led James to abandon his interest in the higher criticism of the Bible, in which line of thought he had won reputation both as a writer and lecturer, and to turn toward mystic speculation. He became, finally, an ardent follower and interpreter of Emanuel Swedenborg, the subject of this article. This fear or panic may not be as vividly conscious or as sudden as in the case of James, but may arise insidiously in dreams and fantasies as in the case of Swedenborg.

1. Henry James, *Society the Redeemed Form of Man* (Boston, 1879), pp. 44-46.

One of Swedenborg's earliest dreams was recounted by him thus:

I seemed to be reclining on a mountain beneath which there was an abyss; there were projections; I was lying there trying to get up, holding on to a projection, without foothold, an abyss beneath. . . .[2]

and later:

I was standing by a machine which was moved by a wheel; its spokes involved me more and more and carried me up so that I could not escape.[3]

Swedenborg's comment is, "Perhaps I need to be kept further in the dilemma." This would give to the wheel the significance of the cross on which one must be crucified until he finds his way out of the conflict of the opposites. This might mean also, in Oriental language, that he would be held to *Saṁsāra*—to his fate—until that which was necessary for him had been accomplished. Still later he dreams:

Quite freely and boldly I stepped down a large stairway; by and by there was a ladder, below it there was a hole which went down to quite a great depth; it was difficult to get to the other side without falling into the hole. On the other side there were persons to whom I reached out my hand to help them cross over. I awoke.[4]

Here he desires to bring his shadow side with him on his perilous journey.

Accompanying this fear, and in part the cause of it, there arises a sense of being misunderstood, isolated from others, as well as a feeling of uncertainty and confusion. If a person has achieved any kind of an adaptation, he realizes that these new intensities that are taking possession of him will and do actually alienate him from others. He must face being thought "queer" and must, for his very life, seek someone, either in the world of reality or in books, who has experienced states of mind similar to his own. So Swedenborg had dreams of exclusion, losing the path, confusion; he writes:

I thought everything was past and gone, and that I was forsaken or driven away. Towards the morning it seemed to me I was riding, and the direction

2. *Journal of Dreams*, translated from the Swedish by C. Th. Odhner (Bryn Athyn, Pa., 1918), p. 14.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

was shown to me, but when I looked it was dark, and I found I had lost my way on account of the darkness. But then it lightened up and I saw I had gone wrong; I saw the road and the forest. . . . I awoke.[5]

I dreamt that a great procession was arranged, from which I was excluded, and that I should have come away thence. But I labored to get there . . . but they advised me to go away, and I went.[6]

These obviously signify that he no longer feels at home in the collective group.

He continues:

It seemed to me, as if I had gone astray in the dark, and had not gone out in company with others. I groped for the walls, and after a while I came to a beautiful house, where there were some people who wondered at my coming that way. They met me and said this was not the way.[7]

Probably this would mean that the way to a life of comfortable adaptation was from now on barred to him.

The early sense of disorientation in the process of analysis is one of the chief causes of the suffering during the period—particularly if it is a self-analysis. Swedenborg does not dwell on his sufferings, which must have been poignant. Every now and then he mentions en passant that this or that symbol in his dreams stood for suffering. He says of some red roses that "they symbolize my suffering which should lead me, I believe." This positive attitude toward suffering as a guide to his life is a part of the true greatness of Swedenborg. Most people have to learn over a long period of years to accept suffering as having positive significance.

But more than to the fear and loneliness is the suffering in analysis due to the central change that is taking place. This is the sacrificing of the false ego values of one's life, which is the only way to discover the deeper treasures to be found in what Jung calls the Self. For the realization of one's shadow side is a shocking experience for most of us, leaving us with a sense of utter inferiority and worthlessness.

Thus Swedenborg's dreams, as might be expected, deal largely at first with his growing awareness of his own egotisms and lusts, which cause him the greatest humiliation, depression, and despair:

5. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

I then fell into a sleep in which my whole temptation was represented to me: how Er B sought by various means to get me on his side, so as to be of that party, but he could not gain me over.[8]

Here we see him fighting against his weaknesses, his shadow side. For his own association with "Er B" was that he symbolized "voluptuousness, riches and vanity." And a little later he emphasizes still further his unworthiness:

I perceived that I was unworthy above others and the greatest of sinners, for our Lord has granted me to go more deeply into my thoughts in certain matters than many others have done; . . . so that my sins in this manner come from a deeper source than in the case of many other persons. Herein I perceived . . . my sins to be greater than those of others; for it is not enough to call oneself unworthy, for this may be done while yet the heart is far away from it, and it may be a pretense, but to perceive that one is such, this is of the grace of the Spirit.[9]

Here Swedenborg recognizes that if one is more conscious he has more responsibility, as he has to be aware not only of what he does, but also of the motives that underlie his actions. He continues in this vein:

In the state I was in, I came still further into the spirit, and although I was awake I could not control myself, but there came as it were an overwhelming impulse to throw myself on my face and to fold my hands and to pray, as before, about my unworthiness, and to ask for grace with the deepest humility and reverence, that I as the greatest of sinners may receive forgiveness of sins.[10]

This is a parallel to the prayer of the publican who beat upon his breast and cried out, "God be merciful to me a sinner"—a state of mind that may sweep over one in the first shock of meeting the shadow. But Swedenborg became also acutely aware of what he called his "lusts." Here we have very little specifically to go on. He speaks of his "inclination for women" as having been his chief passion. And he gives quite a number of dreams which have actually been translated from the Swedish into Latin by the editor, in order to mask their obvious sexuality. To our modern, and particularly to the analitic point of view, these dreams

8. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

seem to represent quite usual instinctive impulses. To translate one of the briefest of them: "I seemed to be on a couch with a woman, but I did not touch her!"[11] Or, again, "I climbed up on a shelf and broke off the neck of a bottle, from which some thick fluid came forth and covered the floor and then flowed down." His own interpretation (which suggests his puritanical attitude towards sex) is, "Yesterday, by the grace of God and not by my own power, a mass of evil was eradicated from my thoughts."[12]

During this period Swedenborg had many animal dreams which emphasize the struggle through which he was passing:

> I had with me Eliezar, my deceased brother, who was being attacked by a wild boar that held him fast and bit him. I tried to drag the animal away with a hook, but could not. Afterwards I went up, and saw that he was lying between two boars which were eating his head. I could not get anyone to help him; I ran past.[13]

His interpretation is, "on the previous day I had indulged my appetite and had partaken too freely of the necessaries of life, which is also a work of the flesh and not of the spirit." But to us, it pictures a seriously threatening condition—a drag of the instincts which is too powerful for him. He can escape only by flight.

Later we have two dreams suggesting homosexuality as a temptation:

> Nevertheless I could not keep control of myself so as not to desire the sex, although not with the intention of proceeding to effect; yet in the dream it did not seem altogether contrary to the dispensation of God. I was in the company of Prof. Oelreich in various places. I had never been warned against this, as I had been warned against other things that I had committed.[14]

But more striking because more detailed is the following:

> I came into violent tremors. . . . I expected to be thrown on my face, as on the former occasion, but this did not take place.
>
> At the last of the tremors I was raised up, and with my hands I felt the back [of somebody]; I passed my hands over the whole of the back and in

11. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

front on the breast. He at once lay down, and in front I saw also a face, but quite obscurely. I was then standing on my knees, and I was thinking whether I should lie down beside him, but this did not take place, as if it was not permitted.[15]

To Swedenborg, as to all good Christians of his day, sex was a "lust"—a manifestation of the not-to-be-yielded-to demands of the body, in contrast to those of the Spirit—except when practiced within the bonds of a sanctified marriage of one man with one woman. Thus sex, when indulged in outside of holy matrimony, was a pernicious and dangerous practice:

In a vision there appeared as it were a fire of hard coal, burning briskly; it signified *ignem amoris*. Afterwards I was with a woman who had some kind of teeth in the place which I desired to touch but the teeth obstructed.[16]

This is a description of what has been called the *vagina dentata,* which would symbolize the dangers a man feels with some types of women—really a fear of his own sexuality. Sex was to Swedenborg a temptation which must have led to a serious repression, and this would in turn force his libido to seek other channels.

The real point I desire to make here is that Swedenborg had become acutely sensitive to his sinfulness, both on the ego and lust sides of his nature. He was thrown into a state of true humility which later enabled him to accept the guidance of another force than that of his own ego. But this sacrificing of the ego desires for the sake of the deeper values of the unconscious was not accomplished without a tremendous conflict, as illustrated in the following dream:

How I had resisted the power of the Holy Spirit, and what then happened; how I beheld hideous spectres, without life, horribly involved, and within something moved itself; with a beast which attacked me but not the child.[17]

The deeper life of the Self—the child—was saved from the impact of the instinctual forces of the collective unconscious, symbolized by the beast attacking Swedenborg himself—the ego.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 76 f.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Later Swedenborg's fears become more acute:

> It was an anxiety as if I were damned and in hell, yet always the hope which the Holy Spirit granted, . . . remained strong throughout.[18]

And immediately afterwards, he notes:

> . . . while I was reading concerning the miracles of God . . . it seemed to me as if something of my own understanding mixed itself into it, so that I was not able to have the strong faith that I ought to have. I believed and yet did not believe. I was thinking that on this account the angels and God revealed themselves to shepherds and not to the philosopher who allows his understanding to take part in the play.[19]

In this comment we see the struggle involved in giving up the thinking function as the sole arbiter of truth. Swedenborg was beginning to realize that assurance of truth—or knowledge—is founded upon inner experience rather than upon syllogistic reasoning.

> . . . thoughts invaded me which I could not control; and this, indeed, so severely as to keep away every other thought . . . but for once to oppose the power of the Spirit, which leads in a different direction. The temptation was so severe that if the grace of God had not been yet stronger I must have fallen therein, or else become insane. . . . But the movement and power of the Spirit came to me [to such an extent that I felt] that I would rather go insane [than to fall].[20]

Here Swedenborg is saying that he would rather go insane than accept evil.

> I may compare this to a pair of scales for weighing: in the one is our own will and evil nature, in the other the power of God. In temptation our Lord so disposes these that at times they come into an equilibrium, but as soon as the first of the scales begins to weigh down heavier, He helps it up again. . . . [It is] our own power which draws everything downwards and is opposed to rather than cooperating with the power of the Spirit.[21]

This struggle between the opposites of flesh and spirit goes on with increasing intensity. It is expressed more strikingly than would be likely

18. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 30 f.

in any modern statement, and is a picture of the undervaluation of the body during the eighteenth century. Our modern idea is more akin to that of Robert Browning, in "Rabbi Ben Ezra":

> Let us cry, "All good things
> Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now than flesh helps soul!"

It is as if there had occurred in Swedenborg's thought an irreducible split between body and spirit, which led him to the further realization of his dependence on God for all goodness:

> And this was also a great temptation, . . . to attribute to myself the good I had done, or, to speak more correctly, the good which had been done through me; but the Spirit of God removed this also.[22]
>
> . . . I strove by means of my thoughts to gain a knowledge of how to avoid all that is impure, but I noticed nevertheless that on all occasions something from the love of self intruded itself . . . as, for instance, when anyone did not show the proper regard for me according to my own imagination, I always thought, "If you only knew what grace I am enjoying you would act otherwise," which at once was something impure having its source in the love of the self. After a while I perceived this and prayed God to forgive it; and I then desired that others might enjoy the same grace, and perhaps they possess it or will obtain it.[23]

Here Swedenborg is trying to avoid feeling superior for having touched the deeper levels of life, just as analyzed people so often feel superior to those who have no experience of the unconscious, arrogating to themselves, often falsely, a better awareness of the motives from which others act. He continues:

> I saw a bookshop, and immediately the thought struck me that my work would have greater effect than the works of others, but I checked myself at once by the thought that . . . our Lord has many thousand ways of preparing every one . . . according to the state of the understanding of every one.[24]

In his struggle to get into touch with God (the "completely good" as we might say), Swedenborg writes:

22. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

The whole day . . . I spent in prayer, songs of praise, reading the Word of God, and fasting . . . until the same temptation arose, viz., that I was as it were forced to think what I did not wish to think.[25]

I then noticed that the faith was faltering, but I prayed with folded hands that I might be strengthened in the faith, which took place at once. I also fell into thoughts about my being more worthy than others, but I prayed in a similar manner and then it vanished at once.[26]

. . . in every single thought,—nay, even in such as we believe to be pure,—there is concealed an endless mass of sin and impurity, as also in every desire that enters from the body into the thoughts. . . . Although the thought may appear pure, underneath there is nevertheless the fact that a person thinks from fear, or hypocrisy, and many other causes, so that . . . no one can make himself so free from sin that there is not mixed into every thought much that is unclean or impure. It is therefore safest to acknowledge every hour and moment that one deserves the punishment of hell; but that it is the grace and mercy of God, which are in Jesus Christ, that overlook it. Indeed, I have also observed that our whole will, which we have inherited and which is ruled by the body and introduces thoughts, is opposed to the spirit. For this reason there is a continual strife, and we cannot by any means unite ourselves with the spirit, which by grace is with us. And hence it is that we are as it were dead to all that is good, but to the evil we are [prone] of ourselves.[27]

Afterwards I dreamt that the Evil One carried me into various deep places and bound me; I do not remember it all. I was cast, bound, everywhere in hell.[28]

These dreams will suffice to bring out the fundamental difference between Swedenborg's experience and that of the present-day analysand. For it is to be particularly noted that the conflict was almost entirely carried on on an intellectual level. He did not lie awake nights because he had treated his wife unkindly—or a friend had cut him. He carried on a ceaseless struggle between the thoughts which came from the devil (lusts of the body, egotism, pride, and sense of superiority) and the thoughts that came from God and the angels (love of God and the neighbor)—all taking place solely within his mind. That Swedenborg's struggle remained so consistently on a mental plane is to be in part attributed to the fact that he had no analyst. Exasperating as the transference is to many people, it does help to hold the problems of the analysand to reality. For as contents of the unconscious arise, they are for the most part

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 37 f.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 44 f.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

projected to the analyst, and one becomes aware of God or Devil in a real person and not as figments of one's own thoughts.

The selection of the dreams thus far presented have emphasized the misery of the conflict which Swedenborg experienced. Now, however, he begins to work into a more peaceful state of mind:

> Just as I was in damnable thoughts, the worst kind that could be, in that very moment Jesus Christ was presented vividly before my internal eyes, and the operation of the Holy Spirit came upon me, so that hence I could know that the devil was gone. The next day I was now and then in a state . . . of double thoughts and strife. After dinner I was mostly in a pleasant humor, though engaged in worldly things.[29]
>
> . . . it seems to me . . . that I ought to employ my remaining time upon what is higher, and not write about worldly things, which are far beneath, but about that which concerns the very center of everything, and that which concerns Christ. May God be so gracious as to enlighten me further in regard to my duty, for I am still in some darkness as to whither I ought to turn.[30]

To us this would mean that he should become aware of that which concerns the Self rather than the ego.

> Afterwards for several days in succession, I was generally for some hours in a state of spiritual anxiety . . . although I seemed to be assured of the grace of God. After dinner, however, I was in quite a great state of happiness and spiritual peace.[31]

As he approaches a greater inner Self-realization, he records:

> I heard mentioned the words *Nicolaiter,* and *Nicolaus Nicolai.* I do not know if this signifies my new name. The most remarkable fact was this, that I now represented the internal man and was as it were another than myself. . . . Thus now there has been a change so that I represent the internal man, who is opposed to another person, for I have prayed to God that I may not be mine own, but that God may please to let me be His.[32]

His own associations with Nicolaus Nicolai is that he was a "philosopher who every year sent loaves of bread to Augustus." May this not mean, therefore, an effort toward a reconciliation of the spiritual and material

29. *Ibid.,* p. 62.
30. *Ibid.,* p. 66.
31. *Ibid.,* pp. 67 f.
32. *Ibid.,* pp. 52 f.

aspects of his life? "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The spiritual man is the inner man; but perhaps he is not incompatible with an outer man functioning normally in the world. At least, this seems to have been Swedenborg's own interpretation.

Later Swedenborg writes:

> . . . the adoration of one's own understanding must first of all be abolished and thrown down; and this the work of God and not of man. . . . This faith, therefore, becomes separated from our understanding and resides above it. . . . "This, perhaps, is what is meant by the teaching that we should be like children. . . . That confirmations (from the understanding) becloud the faith, may be seen from this, . . . that the understanding never reaches further than probabilities and therefore the confirmations from self-intelligence are always subject to doubt, which darkens the light of faith.[33]
>
> Afterwards in a vision, . . . it occured to me that King Charles [XII] the first time had fought in vain, and that afterwards in his second battle with the Saxons he was victorious, and was covered with blood. And afterwards I dreamt that the Muses also were victorious; which signifies that by the grace of God I have gained the battle.[34]

The victory that Swedenborg feels he has achieved is a victory of the irrational over the rational, faith over understanding, the divine over the human, the Self over the ego.

As he united himself closer to the God within, Swedenborg began to experience states of ecstacy:

> I had also in my mind and in my body as it were a sensation of an indescribable delight, so that if it had been more intense, the body would have been . . . dissolved from the delight alone.[35]

And later, he wrote:

> After a while . . . I came into thoughts such as these, that a person ought to be content in all that the Lord pleases to do . . . and that he should not then resist the Spirit when he receives from God the assurance that it is the grace of God which leads everything for our best.[36]

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 57 f.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 58 f.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 41 f.

And later he further describes his ecstasy:

The internal joy remained so intense, however,—especially when I was by myself, alone, without company, in the mornings, evenings, and days,—that it may be compared to a heavenly joy on earth . . . therefore I thought that since I enjoy this heavenly joy, why should I seek for wordly pleasure which by comparison is nothing, is inconstant, hurtful, opposing, and destructive of heavenly joy.[37]

And later, he dreamed:

I beheld the gable-end of the most beautiful palace that anyone could see, and the midst of it was shining like the sun. I was told that it had been resolved in the society that I was to become a member, as it were an immortal, which no one had ever been before, unless he had died and lived [again].[38]

This last sentence is a prophecy of Swedenborg's visits during his trances to heaven and hell, which he fully describes in his book by that name. The beatific delights of an all-good heaven are further described, suggesting the utter unreality of such a concept of the all-good:

This night was the most delightful of all, because I had a vision of the Kingdom of Innocence. Beneath me I beheld a more beautiful garden than can be imagained, a garden where, little by little, white roses appeared placed upon every tree. Afterwards I came into a long chamber where beautiful white vessels were standing, containing milk and bread; it was so appetizing that nothing more appetizing can be imagined. I was in company with a woman of whom I have no particular recollection.[39]

Finally we see Swedenborg becoming wholly absorbed in the divine influx (as he would have called it) so that he could say with Paul: "Yet not I but Christ liveth in me." He describes it thus:

And from the fact . . . that the words which I spoke and the prayer which I said did not come from myself, but that the words were put into my mouth, although it was I that spoke . . . I perceived that it was the Son of God . . . who effected the prayer and thus declared it to be Jesus Himself.[40]

And in the end he concludes or summarizes his conclusions thus:

37. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 88 f.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

(1) There is nothing else but grace, by means of which we may be saved. (2) The grace is in Jesus Christ who is the throne of grace. (3) It is the love of God in Christ by which salvation is effected. (4) And that a man then allows himself to be led by the spirit of Jesus. (5) Everything that comes from ourselves is dead, and is nothing but sin and worthy of eternal damnation. (6) For nothing good can come except from the Lord.[41]

And, further on, he writes:

Afterwards, I seemed to say to myself that the Lord himself will instruct me; for *I found that I am in such a condition that I know nothing about it* [*religion*] *except that Christ must be the all in all, or God through Christ . . . therefore it is best to surrender oneself unconditionally; and, further, that if one could be entirely passive in this thing, it would be the perfect* [*state*].[42]

We have now reached the point where Swedenborg's experience becomes utterly different from the process passed through in a modern analysis. Before going further it might be well to summarize briefly the similarities manifested thus far.

We see Swedenborg developing a growing dissatisfaction with himself, a recognition of his egotism, pride, lustfulness, and superiority (or inferiority) to others. As he came into a full realization of his failings, he suffered greatly from a sense of deep humiliation. Gradually a solution came to him which took the form: Only can I be redeemed from the evil of my life through the Grace of God. So for him salvation consisted in putting himself, in all humility, into God's hands to do His bidding. What God wished of him He would reveal through divine voices, dreams, and visions, and these voices were to be obeyed without question. As he eliminated his self-will and made of himself the tool of what was to him God's will, he came increasingly into a state of ecstasy.

All this did not bring his struggle into the world of actuality, however. In theory he constantly maintained that faith demands good to the neighbor. But his own life became increasingly isolated from other individuals, since he was unmarried and dwelt alone all his later years, forming no intimate personal relationships. Immersed in his own thoughts, he would have found close adaptation to any other person quite impossible. We learn from others that he must often have been so

41. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

absorbed that he did not notice or hear when spoken to. His housekeeper was trained never to interrupt when he was in a trance or introverted state. Yet he insists in several places that

> faith does indeed consist in an assured confidence which is received from God, but nevertheless it consists in the [fact] that a man is to do what is good to his neighbor, each one according to his talent, . . . and that it is to be done from the faith that God has thus commanded, without further reasoning. And therefore a faith without works is not the right kind of faith: one must actually forsake himself.[43]

I might mention in passing that, during this period of Swedenborg's analysis, he had many physical symptons, as most people do during such a process. He speaks of tremors, sometimes chills, faintness, acute perspirations, and often actual pain as the evil was outrooted (as he would say).

> When I determined to keep my thoughts in purity, I perceived the enjoyment of an interior gladness, but still there was a pain in the body, for it was not able to bear the heavenly joy of the soul.[44]

As we proceed further in the study of these remarkable dreams, we begin to see the profound difference between the effort of Swedenborg to deal with his own problems and analysis by a trained analytic psychologist. The difference between the process of analysis in general and that of Swedenborg is due to the fact not only that his was without help, but perhaps more importantly, that he was identified with the ideals maintained by the Church of which his father was a bishop. Thus, in comparing Swedenborg's rebirth with the radical change produced in the analytic process, we are, roughly speaking, really contrasting an orthodox Christian experience of that period with an analysis.

The fundamental difference would lie in the two opposed attitudes toward Good and Evil. To Swedenborg, as we have seen, there was a sharp dichotomy. The Christian Church of his day had shown him where lay the path to Evil, and this "must be shunned as sin"—to use his own words. On the side of Evil he would place the will to power over others, pride, sense of superiority to others, lust—indulgence of the in-

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 61 f.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

stincts both in eating and sex, worldliness—faith in riches and possessions; on the side of Good—humility, faith in the omnipresence and love of God, pure love—meaning marriage love, or the sanctified love of one woman and one man, charitable works, goodness to the neighbor, and so on. The aim of Swedenborg was to shun *evils,* to stamp out lust and egotism and to develop a greater and greater perfection, by making the image of Christ the center of his life.

In contradistinction to this, we might ask, what is the aim of the Jungian analysis? The answer is, "Individuation," that is, to discover through your dreams the kind of person you were really intended to be (rather than the kind that would better suit your husband, wife, intimate friend, society—anybody else in fact) and to learn over long and struggling years to live that life to the best of your ability. It is not perfection—the living of the so-called good only, for there are times when we must actually live so-called evil. But when that aim is thus defined, the very foundation of Christian belief, at least that of the early eighteenth century, is destroyed. For the decision as to what is good and evil is taken out of the hands of the Church and passes over into the safe—or otherwise—keeping of the individual. In short, if individuation is the goal of life, moral autonomy goes with it!

Yet, although Swedenborg was essentially Christian, again and again we see cropping out in him evidences of a foreshadowing of the psychological approach. This would be expected from the fact of his actually recording and attempting to interpret his dreams. It is as if the possibility of individuation lay always in the background, held in check, however, by the Christian determination toward the Good.

Thus the first step in a Jungian analysis would be the recognition of our false egotistic attitudes, our determination to think of ourselves as somehow of great importance, and our striving, through the deception of others and ourselves, to attain some kind of prominence. We become aware, through dream interpretation, that each of us is just one little person trying to work out some kind of a satisfactory life. This feeling of insignificance may cause us suffering and humiliation, but ultimately a sense of relief as we accept our inferiorities and cease trying to be something before the world which we are not in ourselves. Acceptance of our dark side means also more co-operation with our despised instincts and long-concealed shameful deeds and thoughts. This has been called

by Jung the assimilation of the shadow side. Swedenborg's struggles with his shadow side are expressed in his early dreams:

I mounted a horse, but did not take the road I had intended but went across hills and mountains, riding swiftly. A wagon with a load followed after me, and I could not get away from it; still the horse became tired by the load, and . . . like a slaughtered, bloody beast, fallen down.[45]

There was a beggar who cried that he wanted some pork; they wished to give him something else, but he insistently called for pork.[46]

Here the inferior man cries out to be fed while, in the first dream, the animal libido is forced to keep up a pace too fast for it. The wagon with its too heavy load would be the weight of assumptions all of us carry until we free ourselves from them.

The next three dreams record the taking up of the weaker function and the sacrificing of the stronger:

I came to a place where many male persons were assembled . . . among others Henning Gyllenborg on horseback. I went to meet him, kissed him, and stood by him.[47]

The fact that the man was on horseback would suggest that he symbolized a spontaneous aspect of the psyche, which is further confirmed when Swedenborg adds: "It signifies that I have returned to things of my memory and imagination"—that is, to that weaker function originally sternly repressed by him. In the next dream, the animal comes in with the meaning that Swedenborg no longer dares to remain in the upstairs of his house—dwell in his thoughts too exclusively—as that phase had forever passed for him. The carcass in the dream is, of course, his dead intellectuality.

I heard a bear growling but did not see him. I dared not remain in the upper story, for there was a carcass there which he might scent.[48]

I was about to get up on a horse to ride alongside a carriage, but the horse turned his head and got hold of me by my head and held me.[49]

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 f.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 19 f.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 51 f.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Here the libido is quite obviously demanding a sacrifice of the purely intellectual.

Let us take up next Swedenborg's attitude toward what Jung has called the "anima." Again and again this psychological entity appears in Swedenborg's dreams under many different aspects. First we see her as a queen demanding all:

> . . . then came the queen. . . . I wondered that she condescended to come to me; she related that a certain one had given all the jewels to his mistress, but he had received them back again, . . . it was told her that he had not given her the best, whereupon she threw away the jewels.[50]

Later he dreamed of the anima as a dark and dangerous influence from the unconscious which might grip him beyond his power of control:

> . . . there came in a young woman dressed in black, and said that I ought to travel to . . . then she came behind me, holding my whole back with her hand so firmly that I could not make a movement; I asked for help from a person nearby, and he helped to get her away, but I was not able to move the arm myself.[51]

His struggles against losing himself entirely in the fires of the unconscious become terrifying—horrible. He fears insanity:

> I had frightful dreams; I dreamt that the executioner roasted the heads which he had struck off, and for a long time he put the roasted heads one after another into an empty oven, which nevertheless was never filled. It was said that this was his food. He was a big female; he laughed; had a little girl with him.[52]

Here we have a most sinister aspect of the deeper levels of the unconscious. Abnormally large, hermaphroditic, this horrible archetype would destroy every logos value by madness. The application of fire and intense heat to the head symbolizes the burning up of the mind by excess emotion. Swedenborg fears that he is going crazy under the compulsive force of this shocking inhuman creature. At this point he was close to a loss of himself in complete insanity. But perhaps the child would

50. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

represent the Self in the analytic sense, or the child anima who is not injured in the struggle. Gradually however, this phase of horror passes and we have two less alarming dreams:

> . . . it was as if a married woman were pursuing me, but I escaped.[53]

The married woman is probably the continued demands from his scientific side. He must have felt during this period of conflict an intense drag back to the adaptation he had made. This same theme is carried on:

> A married woman wanted to have me but I liked an unmarried one; the former one became angry and persecuted me, but I nevertheless gained the unmarried one and was with her and loved her.[54]

The unmarried woman is presumably the mystical side of the psyche which he finally espoused. These two dreams might be interpreted as the conflict between the mother and the anima.

We now come to the point where Swedenborg begins to come more completely under the influence of his anima. He will accept only the good and the beautiful, and gradually yields to his faith in perfection as a goal, with a repression of the evil aspect of the unconscious.

> I received . . . a large book with blank paper. In the middle there were many beautiful drawings. . . . A woman was sitting at my left hand; she moved over to my right side and began to turn over the leaves of the book, and the drawings appeared.[55]

It is impossible to interpret such a dream in detail. But Swedenborg himself suggests that this means, "my speculations will turn to a priori while before they have been a posteriori." This would indicate—a meaning borne out by later dreams—that he is no longer pursuing a genuine search for truth, but is accepting only the beautiful side of life by a process of faith alone. For next he dreams:

> It seemed as if I had received orders to accompany Bergenstierna [a very hypocritical character] on a commission and that money had been granted for

53. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 64 f.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

the purpose. The commission . . . seemed to be on the other side of Sicily, but I thought that I would have to be on guard against scorpions there.[56]

He is led by his shadow to the island of fantasy. But he recognizes the dangers that may beset him in following the shadow unquestioningly. There are poisonous insects there.

And immediately he has flying dreams. He has removed himself from reality and is on the road to inflation:

I was flying evenly, but came to a fine looking town . . . ; I noticed that I was flying in the wrong direction, and I turned back.[57]

It seemed as if I were taking quite a high flight, but in such a circle that I came down safely when I began to feel tired.[58]

I dreamt that I saw one beast after another, which spread out their wings; they were dragons. I flew away above them. . . .[59]

The inflation is also symbolized by suspension in mid air:

In my sleep, it appeared . . . that I was walking across on a board, and that I was seeing an abyss and perils before me; afterwards I climbed up a rope after another person, but did not see the top or how I might reach it.[60]

During this period Swedenborg repudiated the anima unless she could be wholly white, perfect, angelic, in short, could measure up to his ideal:

Afterwards I was in company with women, but I was not willing to touch them, inasmuch as previously I had had to do with the holier ones.[61]

But shortly after, fortunately for his sanity, the swing of the pendulum becomes less extreme, and we see Swedenborg taking the anima from the shadow to himself:

While I was going with my friend [shadow] through a long passage there came a beautiful girl; she fell into his arms and moaned. I asked her if she

56. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

knew him, but she did not answer. I took her away from him and led her by the arm.[62]

The last dream recorded in the book shows Swedenborg submissive to the revelations as they freely disclosed themselves to him:

Verities [truths, which are to him symbolized by women] or virgins of this kind regard it as shameful to offer themselves for sale . . . , they would rather offer themselves freely to their lovers. I, who am their servitor, would not dare but to obey them, lest I be deprived of their service.[63]

The anima has become "She who must be obeyed."

In Swedenborg's dreams of women, there is no real "coming to terms" with the anima in the Jungian sense of the phrase. There is no emergence of the one woman, but, rather, she assumes at different times extreme forms of the all-powerful, the seductive, compelling anima, who draws him into the unreal world of inflation, and, finally, the sweet, holy, virginal types to whom he surrenders in the dreams. Under these conditions there could hardly be any real integration. Yet, through the dreams there emerges—from time to time—a suggestion of what Jung has called the Self:

I afterwards saw the jewels in my hands and a great ruby in the middle.[64]

In a discussion with his father which took place in a dream, he writes:

I found myself able to answer according to my conscience that no one ought to be permitted to change his estate, no matter what it may be, to which he has devoted himself [that is, Swedenborg should not change from scientist to priest] . . . , but, I added that if the king [the ruler of his conscience] had resolved upon it then the matter was settled. . . . I noticed as a remarkable circumstance that I did not call him "my father" but "my brother," . . . it seemed to me that my father was dead, and that this one, who is my father, thus must be my brother.[65]

That is, as soon as he rules himself, instead of accepting the authority of the father, he becomes adult, the equal of the father.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The following dream might even embody something of the "mandala" idea in its general form:

> I saw how everything in an oblong globe concentrated itself upwards in the highest part of the globe, while in the lowest part there was as it were a tongue, which afterwards was spread out.[66]

The concentration in the highest part of the mandala possibly refers to the intellectual attitude. The tongue, in contrast, might symbolize the words that later poured forth in Swedenborg's writings under control of the anima. In the following dream he actually speaks of integration:

> It seemed as if someone said the word *interiorescit,* [he is becoming more internal] and *integratur* [he is being made whole] which signifies that . . . I am becoming more purified.[67]

But to him the meaning of the word, integration, would mean purification—the successful suppression of the evil—rather than completeness. To him individuation meant giving himself wholly over to the will of God—almost identifying with the collective unconscious. The exaltation of this state is expressed by him as follows:

> I now arose, a whole God up. God be thanked and praised! *I do not wish to be mine own; I am certain and believe that Thou, O God, wilt let me be Thine in all the days of my life and wilt not take away from me Thy Holy Spirit which strengthens and upholds me.*[68]

Although Swedenborg then goes through certain experiences with which we are all familiar, the sacrifice of the major, or—in his case—rational function of thinking, in order to accept the mystical side of his nature, notably present in childhood and sternly repressed in the interests of his scientific investigations; yet he never really assimilated the unconscious side of the psyche, the weaker functions of sensation and feeling. In other words, he never really came to terms with the anima, who was to him either an angel of light or a seductive demon. As he grew older, he repressed more and more the negative aspects of the anima and took her as the symbol of the only-good. If he had identified

66. *Ibid.,* p. 78.
67. *Ibid.,* p. 62.
68. *Ibid.,* p. 59.

completely with the collective unconscious, he would have been called insane. But because of his peculiar genius, which included capacity for self-discipline, integrity, and common sense, he never forgot that he must live in two worlds. He repeated again and again in his writings that while he was an instrument of revelation he made no claim to divinity. He remained, then, to the close of his life, a human being who could forget his mystical side if his country needed him to write a treatise on mining. And, on the social side, he could respond to the demands of his servants and visitors. Swedenborg could really have come to terms with the anima only by a recognition of the goal of individuation, and this would have involved the acceptance of his feeling and sensation—his whole reality side—including a coming to terms with sexuality.

So entirely, as we have seen, did Swedenborg repress his bodily desires that his intuitions, uncompensated by his reality function, completely ran away with him. This accounts for his flying dreams, his uncorrected and passive assurance of the truth of his visions. The struggles with the realities of life, the level on which our most terrifying experiences are fought out, were never his. Alike freed from all family responsibilities, all human relationships, except on the intellectual side, he grew or evolved in a kind of rarefied atmosphere, a vacuum. This would account for the mild dream presentations of his physical fights:

> There appeared to me a man in white having a sword; another person approached to attack him and was wounded by his sword; he renewed the attack but was wounded quite severely about the ear and the temples. Still another came to fight against him, but he also was run through so that the blood appeared. I had a long spear and was thinking that if he should come against me, I would hold the spear in front of me, but just as he was not far from me I saw that he threw down the sword and went away. . . . I noticed that someone was walking before me, and that he had reversed his sword to give it to him and surrender unconditionally. . . .[69]

Swedenborg himself does not get into the fight at all!

> I saw a great beast which at times looked like a human being but with a great gaping mouth; he did not venture to touch me. I cut at him with a sword, but had no skill or strength in the arm to strike him. Finally I saw him standing before me with a gun from which he fired some venomous fluid; but it did not hurt me because I was protected. Immediately afterwards I thrust

69. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

the sword into his jaws, though without great force; I thrust deeper and it seemed as if it was said he had been slain."[70]

. . . I lay on a bed. There came against me a very large black ox, and it seemed he was going to gore me with his horns. I was afraid but it was said to me: *"You will get through safely."*"[71]

Thus Swedenborg, as would be expected in the eighteenth century, never attained to the development of the Self in the psychological sense of the term. The struggle between Good and Evil was dealt with only in the mind, and was not taken into the world of reality and incorporated into the body through the process of actual living. Because of this fact, he was able as he grew older more and more to repress the evil and adhere to the good. For to Swedenborg, as to the Christians of his day and generation, the body was all sin: ". . . if [our thoughts] are of the body it is all sin from the inmost, for we purpose nothing but what strives against that which is the spiritual."[72]

We might compare Swedenborg, in a sense, to a monk solving his problem of good and evil in his solitary cell and striving single-heartedly toward self-perfection—very different from the self-realization of analysis. Since, then, he was unable to take the Good and Evil into his actual life and live from them, incorporate them in his every act, he was obliged to project them. And, since he was living a more or less hermit existence, he could not project his own angels and devils upon his fellow men. Therefore, the natural place which an uncompensated intuitive would choose would be the future. Into a sharply divided heaven and hell, then, Swedenborg projected Good and Evil. And only a genius could have carried out the projection with the brilliant and detailed imagination shown in his book on the subject.

Swedenborg's primary contribution, however, from the point of view of his followers does not lie here. To them his main value is to be found in his concept of the Bible as a book to be taken first of all symbolically, or allegorically. In what he called its "inner sense" are to be found truths directly applicable to the life of each individual. Thus the escape of the Children of Israel from their bondage and their final entrance into the Promised Land parallels the experience of the individual soul in its struggle against the enslavement to outer circumstances, and its achieve-

70. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

ment, after long suffering, of its sought-for goal. The picture of Christ as the half-divine, half-human Self within each man, who must die to be born again, whose "Kingdom is not of this world," when thus visioned becomes a vital truth of use in the daily living of everyone. Swedenborg elaborated to the most minute detail his "system of correspondences"—to use his own words—which really made possible a radically new way of approach (particularly at the period in which he lived) to both Old and New Testament.

Dr. Jung has written in his pamphlet on *The Symbolic Life:* "Man is in need of a symbolic life—badly in need. We live only banal, ordinary, rational or unreasonable things—which are naturally also within the scope of rationalism, otherwise you would not call them unreasonable. But we have no symbolic life." Now Swedenborg, through his close contact with the archetypal world of the collective unconscious, brought forth the treasure of the symbol, even though not very clearly and often over-rationally, as a bridge for man's comprehension, not only of the Bible but of life's deeper mysteries. In this respect he may really be regarded as a forerunner of Jung.

TRAINING IN CHRISTIANITY: A REVIEW ARTICLE*

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AFTER THE "EASTER EXPERIENCE" in April 1848, when he became convinced that God had forgotten as well as forgiven his sins, Kierkegaard was a changed man, and this book reflects the change. He no longer hides behind pseudonyms; for even though he ascribes *Training in Christianity* (and *Sickness unto Death,* which belongs to the same period) to "Anti-climacus," he does so only to stress the contrast with "Johannes Climacus," who was the "author" of the *Fragments* and the *Postscript.* A scathing wit and boundless inventiveness are still in him, but they are now harnessed to a direct religious purpose. Actually, the Kierkegaard who emerges from behind the earlier screen of "indirect communication" has been there all along. He has been writing religious discourses, based upon Scriptural texts and published under his own name, to accompany the pseudonymous works. Here the tributary stream of his piety swings into the main channel of his authorship and occupies it entirely.

It is a relief to find him coming out into the open, even though this book repeats much that he has already written, and repeats itself constantly. As a matter of fact, he had a hard time bringing himself into the open, even after he had finished writing *Training in Christianity.* For many months (from 1848 to 1850) he withheld its publication because it attacks the Established Church. Kierkegaard was loathe to be involved in another dispute, after what he had suffered from the affair with *The Corsair;* he did not like to offend old Bishop Mynster; his own fortune was almost completely gone, so that he might need a church position; and finally, since Regina's father had died, he hoped that he might resume friendship with her,—and this book might make that impossible. After overcoming his misgivings and going ahead with publication, he was, therefore, understandably relieved when it caused no stir. To be sure, Mynster recognized the attack upon himself and Professor Martensen, but despite his anger, he acknowledged Kierkegaard's

* *Training in Christianity.* By Søren Kierkegaard. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press, 1944. xxvii, 275 pp. $3.00.

right to express his views. At the same time, the latter realized that since such a severe book had made no impression, he would be compelled to use dynamite to get his point across. This is exactly what he did, after the Bishop's death, when he launched his pamphleteering *Attack upon "Christendom."*

The Preface to *Training in Christianity* and the "Moral" at the end of Part I, acknowledge that the book strains the requirement for being a Christian to its highest pitch; yet they leave open an alternative,—a simple admission that one is not truly Christian, and a taking refuge in the grace of God. Kierkegaard naïvely hoped he could evoke this admission from Bishop Mynster on behalf of the whole Established Church, which had compromised with worldliness. Having failed in his purpose, S.K. declared that, if he had it to do over again, he would not leave the alternative open as a loop-hole for escaping the requirement.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I takes as its theme the invitation: "Come hither, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, I will give you rest." The opening pages are deceptively meditative and tender, dwelling upon the wonder of a spiritual physician who, instead of having to be sought after, takes the initiative in seeking out all needy persons, and who, instead of simply helping them and passing on, continues to share the lot of each one individually. All men—the isolated, the wage-slaves, the sick and dying, those whom human compassion has failed, those who would maintain innocence and those who are deep in perdition—need this forgiveness, which is free from condemnation and saves from despair. But then comes a *Halt!* Instead of pressing forward to accept such an invitation, as one might expect, humanity flees in the opposite direction. What is the trouble? The difficulty is that Christianity requires faith, whereas men want to reduce it to a form of knowledge; they insist upon learning about Christ through secular history, whereas the most decisive thing about Him—His Deity—cannot be learned in that way at all. Kierkegaard makes the same point in the *Fragments* and elsewhere, but a comparison between the form of experimental hypothesis in which the earlier work puts it forward, and the present *Halt!*, shows the change which has come over the author.

Despite the fact that what Kierkegaard is saying is vexing to humanists, they should have no difficulty in agreeing with him that one cannot prove from the historical facts about Jesus, or from the centuries of "success" which Christianity has enjoyed, that He was anything more

than a great man. But instead of saying, "Therefore Christ was divine only insofar as any great man can be," Kierkegaard declares that all fusion of divinity and humanity is humbug, and that *any* historical starting-point overlooks (and begs the question about) the infinite qualitative difference between God and man. Questions about Deity involve a decision of faith; questions about humanity quite rightly belong in the sphere of historical knowledge. Confusion at this point explains why men have blasphemously tried to "prove" the Deity of Christ. The Gospels take the distinction for granted; they do not purport to offer a secular-historical demonstration. The difference becomes clear when we compare Christ and Socrates, both of whom suffered for the truth. In the case of Socrates, we can say quite properly that history has vindicated him; but in the case of Christ we must say that His humility judges history, instead of being something which we judge in the light of history. Christ expresses "essentially" what the truth has to suffer in any age; Socrates expresses "accidentally" what the truth had to suffer in his particular age. Therefore, to try to become a Christian by means of historical knowledge is paganism; and since Christendom does try this, as a substitute for faith, it is high time that Christianity be introduced again into Christendom.

The alternative to historical knowledge of Christ is contemporaneity with Him. Once an individual confronts Him in a living, personal way, the obstacle to accepting His invitation is connected with His humility. Instead of relieving a man of poverty and persecution, association with Christ will deepen his suffering; hence the kind of "help" He offers is not what we expect, and the cure seems worse than the disease. From a prudential point of view, the invitation is not at all attractive; indeed, it is folly and madness. No wonder that fashionable men in silk gowns try to make Christianity more attractive; the only trouble is that what they preach is not Christianity.

At this point in the argument, Kierkegaard introduces a lengthy examination of Christ's career, speaking of Him quite unaffectedly as a contemporary—"an ordinary neighbor"—so as to bring out the opposition between His mission and all human standards of calculation. The "wise and prudent" grant that He is an extraordinary person, though of course His claim to be God is an exaggeration. The main trouble is that He is unbelievably naïve about human nature. Instead of consolidating His position among influential people, He goes about serving the uncultured herd. He makes no provision for His own future; and although

He momentarily enjoys popularity, He is just fool enough to stick by His principles instead of shifting His ground when opposition begins to arise. It's too bad that some of His sayings can't be edited a bit so as to make them feasible, for they obviously contain a certain insight; but it is equally obvious that the Good and True can't be effectively pursued by renouncing everything except troubles and hardship; an ethic is ruled out of court, after all, if it imposes too high a standard upon mankind. Finally, His claim to authority is circular; it rests upon His claim to Deity, and *vice versa*. So runs the moderate, balanced appraisal of the wise and prudent. . . .

A clergyman admires His honesty, but fears His revolutionary intention to start a new society with fishermen and artisans. After all, progress comes by gradual evolution, not by destruction of the established order. Let Him present His credentials properly to an ecclesiastical assembly and win a majority vote before claiming to be the Messiah. . . . A philosopher criticizes Him because He offers only detached aphoristic utterances instead of a system. Besides, it violates the canons of rationality to suppose that an individual can be God, whereas objective and universal propositions alone can be regarded as Ultimate Truth. . . . A statesman regards Him as dangerous, but rests content in the assurance that He will bring about His own downfall because of His failure to build up a strong party on the basis of a definite political program. . . . A solid citizen forbids his son to join Him, because the really "sound" men—including Pastor Green, who is such a good mixer at the club—will have nothing to do with Him. . . . A mocker finds Him priceless, since if one man can be God, any man can be; in fact, the mocker intends to assert tomorrow that *he* is God, and Christ can't contradict him without undermining His own claim. . . .

Everything turns out as these people foresaw. The man comes to a bad end, He loses His popular following, He gets crucified, He turns out to be a crazy visionary worshipped by a pack of undiscriminating fools. He was such a good chap that one can't help regretting the outcome. . . . This is the utmost that profane history can say of Him. Now ask yourself whether you want to accept His "help" or to run rapidly in the opposite direction. You will then see also that the people who crucified Him were not particularly bad; anyone "contemporary" with Him reacts this way, for divine compassion is so incommensurate with all human standards that it strikes us as eccentric, insane. Men can show compassion to certain people—those of the same class, or those who

have some talent or merit, but compassion for any and everyone . . . this is going too far. In practice, it turns out to be ludicrous. Men are willing to show self-sacrifice and wisdom in limited amounts, but they want to determine the limits; hence when Christ holds before them an unconditional measuring-rod of divine compassion, the hypocrisy of their everyday "goodness" is exposed. No wonder people run away. They see quite rightly that instead of removing poverty, frustrated ambitions, and other inconveniences, He brings up the most inconvenient thing of all. Really believing, as He does, that sin is man's ruin, the only "help" He has to offer is forgiveness.

Relatively speaking, Christianity is a plague instead of a comfort; it involves sufferings which a man will do well to avoid. But its Absolute standard is neither a poetic ideal nor an historical product, for this standard can be confronted only *as present reality for me*. Hence one cannot become a Christian either through aesthetic contemplation or through study. Each individual and generation must face the decision afresh whether or not to become Christian by the only available means. The one requirement at this point is honesty; the one peril is that the clear-cut issue shall be evaded by accommodating Christianity to human convenience.

In the "Moral" appended to Part I, Kierkegaard raises the question which is in the mind of anyone who has read the preceding pages: "If Christianity is so demanding, how can people be expected to accept it?" He answers that only one who is deeply conscious of his own sin (*not* "sin in general") can regard Christianity as gentle, gracious, and kind in comparison with his present lot; otherwise it is bound to appear mad and impractical. A simple, humble man can grasp this immediately. It is only sophisticated men who, having tried to solve their inner problems by smartness, talent, and cunning, find this little requirement of contrition an insuperable obstacle.

Part II of *Training in Christianity* takes as its theme the saying: "Blessed is He Whosoever is not Offended in Me." The preceding exposition has shown why, in spite of His unqualified love, Christ cannot insure that some will not take offence. The difficulty does not arise, however, from intellectual doubt, which concerns abstract, metaphysical matters; it arises only in the situation of contemporaneousness, where an individual confronts the God-man as another individual. Kierkegaard has already dealt with this problem in the *Fragments*, the

Postscript, and *Sickness unto Death.* Here he analyses the possibility of offence under three headings.

The first is preliminary and peripheral. One may be offended with Christ simply as a man who comes into conflict with the established order; for example (Matt. 15:1-12), when Jesus the teacher puts inward motivation above the empty externalism of the Pharisees, He exemplifies a collision between piety and formalism which recurs continually in Christendom. The established institution attacks an individual whose witness to the inward nature of truth is a threat to its own self-deification, its own substitution of prestige and honor for suffering for the truth. In short, it cannot tolerate an individual who appeals over its head to God directly, for this would threaten its equation between piety and worldly power. Kierkegaard is directing this exposition, of course, against the established Lutheran Church of Denmark; no doubt if he had done the easy thing, and directed it against Roman Catholicism, Copenhagen might have applauded.

The other two forms of offence have to do specifically with Christ's Deity. Some are offended because a man claims to be God; others are offended at the notion that God could come as a lowly, suffering man. With regard to the former, Christ has no direct way in which He can make good His "exalted" claims. Even though by this time Kierkegaard has reached the conclusion that use of "indirect communication" was demonic on his own part, he still sees "indirect communication" as necessary for the God-man. That Christ's Deity was concealed, except from the eyes of faith, by the *incognito* of His humanity, is a Kierkegaardian thesis upon which Brunner based his book, *The Mediator.*

S.K. draws a sharp distinction between faith and rational proof in connection with the incident where the messengers of John the Baptist ask Jesus whether He is the Messiah (Matt. 11:6 and Luke 7:23). In reply to their question, Jesus refers to miracles—not as proof, since miracles are convincing only to believers—but to call attention to the choice of the heart between faith and offence. Contrast His method with "the theological professor who, by availing himself of all that had previously been written on the subject, has written a new book on the proofs of the truth of Christianity" (p. 98). Throughout His career Jesus offended people by making exalted claims: to forgive sins, to cast out demons, to offer His flesh and blood for man's eternal life. Yet today anyone can join the church without even noticing the possibility

of offence—thanks to speculative theological professors, without whose help Christianity came into the world, but with whose help it is being smuggled out of the world.

The last form of offence assumes that Christ is God, but then regards it as folly that He should be this lowly man, this carpenter's son (Matt. 13:55). The worst thing Christ has to bear is that, precisely because they accept His Messiahship the disciples cannot accept the fact that He must suffer, and they desert Him at the crucial moment. Christ's lowliness continues to be a stumbling-block for people who want to be Christian up to a certain point, but who desert when the price gets too high. Notice that Kierkegaard has not even discussed the intellectual rejection of Christianity which comes about when certain doctrinal formulations of the Incarnation and the Atonement are found to be "incompatible with modern thought." He directs his attention, rather, to the sort of sermons which point out how Christianity has triumphantly spread over the world, and then invite people to join the parade—"sermons which might properly end with Hurrah! rather than with Amen" (p. 109). In the situation of contemporaneousness one cannot keep an eye upon the happy outcome (for it has not yet appeared), and one cannot appropriate the pragmatic success gained by Christ's sufferings as though they were one's own.

The decisive mark of Christian suffering is that it is voluntary, and therefore gives rise to the possibility of offence. But in a pagan way the Church has confused this with ordinary earthly adversities which do not befall the individual voluntarily at all. This is like confusing "selling all that one has and giving to the poor" with losses on the stock exchange. In true Christianity eternal blessedness and voluntary suffering go together, and the plain fact is that men can "understand" natural misfortunes like bereavement and loss of property, but they cannot "understand" accepting suffering which could be avoided merely by softening the spiritual requirements a bit. Since the understanding is thus brought to a halt, going ahead into Christianity involves not a new kind of thinking, but a new kind of willing. Of course sensible men will not accept suffering unless they see something to be gained that is worth the price; and since the only gain Christianity has to offer is connected with a man's relationship to God, those who can understand gains only in terms of worldly advantages are repelled. Indeed, the criticism that Christianity reflects a sort of hatred for human nature is far more defensible than the silly apologetics which promise an increase in

income and influential friends to the man who will come to church and get his personality refurbished. Christianity seems like hatred toward what is naturally good for man; it seems like a severe distortion, invented by ascetics who have never been mellowed by a woman's love. The fact that it is not misanthropic can be grasped only by passing *through* voluntary suffering instead of passing around it.

The remainder of Part II is a somewhat complicated elaboration of Kierkegaard's views concerning Christ as the God-man. The chief motive behind it is the author's conviction that anything which undermines the paradoxical character of Christ's Person (e.g., a speculative doctrine postulating the general unity of God and man), reduces Christianity to a superficial humanitarianism. Without the Absolute and without the *incognito,* Christianity becomes something innocuous, something so adjusted to worldly "reasonableness" that it can neither wound nor heal profoundly.

Part III consists of seven expositions upon the theme, "From on High He Will Draw All unto Himself"; the first was actually delivered at a Friday communion service in September 1848. Once again, Kierkegaard is concerned to prevent people from leaping immediately to the "triumph" of Christianity without reaching it by way of humility and suffering. Yet he adds (as a warning to himself?) that a melancholy longing for persecution errs in the opposite direction. Christ draws to Himself penitent men who cannot otherwise get rid of their shortcomings and painful memories, but He does so by means of human freedom, not by violating it. Only through presenting a decision can a self be truly influenced; and only through choosing to become his true self can a man be drawn to Christ. But one does not choose between Christ's exaltation and His humiliation, for He is a unity of the two contraries. When He uttered the words, "If I be lifted up," He was still in His humiliation. Hence, merely to be attracted to His triumph, and to forget His bitter passion, is like shunning a poor man until he becomes rich and then trying to get in his good graces.

Christ's whole earthly career—not just the last week—is a "Passion story." From the moment of birth He was a sort of outcast, and even in His serenest moments He was misunderstood. For example, people wanted to confer kingly honors upon Him, failing to realize that He was set against all worldly power. They misunderstood His teaching, His association with sinners, His anticipation of suffering and death. His life was "heterogeneous" from first to last. "Behold, what a man" people

cried when they would make Him king . . . and when they crucified Him.

(Kierkegaard always felt his own life to be "heterogeneous," and once a comic paper encouraged youngsters to shout "Behold, what a man" at him in the streets. In fact, S.K.'s identification of himself with Christ is so strong that one can find many instances where he is trying to safeguard against the dangers involved. He disclaims being better than others, or having a desire to judge others. Yet the very fact that he expected—longed for?—a martyrdom which did not occur, shows how earnestly he believed that one could become a Christian only by following Christ absolutely. Much of his castigation of worldly comfort and intellectual sophistication is a castigation of those things in himself which were incompatible with this ideal image.)

Now there is no permissible way of contemplating this suffering as an onlooker; the only serious way of being related to Christ is actually to incur suffering with Him. No one can be commanded to accept such suffering; he can accept it only because of a felt need for purification and transformation.

Here is an example of how Christ's suffering moves one who desires to follow Him. (This account is autobiographical.) A child is being shown pictures of Napoleon and William Tell, and hearing stories about them. Suddenly he comes to a picture of the Crucifixion. He asks about it and is told that this is a most ignominous form of penalty. The child asks who the man was, and is told that this was the most loving person who ever lived. "Why, then, were people so bad to Him?" So the child learns how He was treated all His life, how He was betrayed by a friend, how a notorious robber was released in His stead, how Christ prayed for the forgiveness of men even while they crucified Him. The child will resolve, when he grows up, to slay all the people who could be so cruel; but when he grows up he will realize that his combat, like Christ's, must be through suffering instead of reprisal in this world which the philosophers call "the best possible," even though it slew the Nazarene and cried "Viva!" for Barabbas.

Christ's exaltation does not fall within the compass of His earthly career at all; yet most people try to begin by participating in His triumph, without passing the test of comparing their earthly lives with His. Christ understood that in this matter of probation, one must begin with the easiest and move gradually forward. Even with His disciples, He disclosed things to them only as they became able to bear

them. Likewise, for all of us, it is natural in youth to construct an ideal picture; it is natural to concentrate upon an image of achieved perfection and pay no attention to the striving involved in reaching such perfection. Generation after generation, older men try to convey to their sons something of the concrete reality of suffering that must be passed through; but as long as a youth remains in the sphere of imagination, they cannot succeed. No, each youth must find out the seriousness of life for himself. He begins to find out when others tell him that his ideal picture does not fit reality; then he must put the matter to a test by willing to express perfection in everyday affairs, and there is danger that he will be disillusioned and give up at this point. He may renounce the ideal as an adolescent illusion and turn to cynicism; or he may renounce the real world with disgust, and turn to aesthetic escapism. But suppose the young man determines to retain a relationship both to the ideal picture and to the very imperfect real world in which he lives—suffering is then inevitable. Nevertheless, the young man may still hope that his hardships will all work out for the best; a merciful Providence does not let him understand that disappointment lies ahead. "This he could not yet endure to understand, and therefore . . . he is not able to understand it" (p. 189). Thus he perseveres, and is strengthened by suffering. Help has been given, for he is stronger; but not in the way he expected, for he does not receive relief. Finally he realizes that his hope for better times ahead was a youthful illusion, and that his suffering will increase with each forward step; if he can hold out in that moment, he learns what it is to be a man. This manliness, however, is the opposite of being "a man of the world"; it is the recovery of childlikeness, without which no one can enter the Kingdom of Heaven; for despite his acquisition of shrewdness and worldly wisdom, he has not lost the spontaneity and vision of youth. Yet the man understands what the child cannot,—that suffering and opposition increase in proportion to the loftiness of the aim.

This is what it means to become a Christian. Yet Christianity is not cruel; it is the world which is cruel. The suffering involved in love (which refuses to run away from the world) depends upon the character of the man. If he is conceited and self-satisfied, he is not overly disturbed to discover that the world is full of harshness and injustice; he can avoid suffering by the simple expedient of quenching love. Thus for all men, as for Christ, spiritual exaltation and humiliation go hand in hand; one cannot evade the latter without losing the former.

Undoubtedly there are some kinds of truth, such as truth in science, where one can appropriate the end-result of some one else's discovery without having to retrace the steps of his reasoning. But where the true way of life is at stake, there is no possibility of acquiring knowledge about it at second hand; discovering the truth and living it are here identical, and there are no short cuts. When Pilate asked Jesus, "What is the truth?" he was expecting to have some information imparted to him, —a bit of interesting propositional knowledge which could be appropriated without cost to himself. The very fact that he asks the question when Christ is standing before his eyes, shows Pilate's obtuseness so far as the other kind of truth—truth as a way of life—is concerned. Pilate says of Jesus: "Look, what a man"; and in so doing he labels himself (and all "interested" intellectuals) with "Look, what a fool."

Scientific truth can be cumulatively passed on from one generation to the next; but with spiritual truth, each individual starts from scratch. This has profound implications for an understanding of the Church. Its essential task is not to accumulate a tradition or a body of knowledge which, so to speak, makes it easier for each succeeding generation to become Christian by learning what has been progressively worked out and refined. Christ did not produce some novel system by indescribable cudgelling of the brain. He embodied a way of life to which each man must relate himself by personal decision. Hence the Church can never expect victory in this world; it must remain militant and struggling as long as history lasts, as long as new individuals continue to be born. And since the Church is made up of gradually maturing individuals, it is always *becoming* Christian; it cannot regard itself as having already arrived. Christ's Kingdom is *in* the world, militantly, wherever people are becoming Christian; but as soon as one thinks that he can be "successful" in both the Church and the world at the same time, Christianity is abolished. It is true that at the end of history, the Church will no longer have to struggle against the world; but the Established Church has prematurely anticipated this happy outcome by putting a moratorium on the struggle now, and adapting the Church to its environment. Thus the Established Church can offer its clergy and adherents esteem and influential positions at just the point where a militant Church could only offer suffering and persecution. In the Established Church it pays very well to be a Christian. No wonder practically everybody is a Christian, as one can see merely by consulting the parish register of baptisms and confirmations!

Since no one has a right to judge the inner secrets of the heart, it may seem impossible to find out how many of these "automatic Christians" are really Christian. Yet there is one way. Let someone simply confess Christ and what His way of life implies. Then, if everybody in Christendom is already truly Christian, that person will encounter no opposition. (S.K. is of course thinking of himself as the confessor; and one can see why it was so necessary to his thesis that he should succeed in arousing opposition.)

Woe to the Church that would triumph in this world; for then it is the world which triumphs. The life of the God-man is brought into conformity with the general predilections of mankind. We adjust Him to our needs instead of letting our lives be judged by His. Eternity is abolished, and all goals become purely temporal. This is very broad-minded, humane, and compatible with modern culture; everybody can easily travel this road without altering a thing in his life; the only trouble is—it leads to Hell. It is not mere stubbornness or misanthropy which lies back of Christ's opposition to the kind of world we are now in. He could have adjusted Himself to it quite easily—merely by forgetting the love of God, and what man was meant to be.

Even if it is true that the world is much more Christian than it seems, there is no way of finding that out in advance. And even if it is true that not everyone will follow such a severe way of life, the question still remains as to whether *you* will follow it. The preacher is lost who sees Christianity as applying to others, while only the salary and the good reputation apply to himself; he is lost, too, if he substitutes gentle, persuasive, world-historical "reasons" demonstrating Christianity's intellectual respectability, for actually trying to live it. Once Christianity commanded men with the seriousness of eternity, and this discipline enabled men to do great things, in a spiritual sense, in *this* world. So Satan had to change his tactics. He got the Church to imagine that it could "establish" and domesticate itself in the world; then millions flocked to it, and it grew—like a man with dropsy. But the hold on eternity was lost, and we no more hear of it from the pulpit; the parsons realize that anything severe is not only unpopular, it is futile—since people would simply leave the Church, and that, of course, would be a terrible failure. So, instead of preaching Christianity, they defend it, and in that moment Satan wins. The people are flattered and listen tolerantly when someone begs them to please have a good opinion of Christianity; on this condition they will accept it. The penalty attached is the invisible

one of falling into illusion, comfortable self-flattery, confidence in progress. Without noticing the fact, we have lost Christianity, and this is exactly what we have deserved.

The last stage of this disintegration is reached when people "admire" Christ, objectively, instead of following Him. They assume that He had special advantages and powers, and that if they were similarly favored, they could be equally perfect. As it is, He can only evoke admiration. Actually, what Christ sets before a man is something each individual is capable of, namely, moral decision. Unfortunately, it is always good, respectable people who admire Christ, so that when no danger is involved in being a Christian, it is impossible to tell the difference between admirers and followers. But at the approach of danger the admirers, like Judas, will turn traitor. (S.K.'s observations at this point can be confirmed directly from the experience of the European churches during the war.) If Christ had made room for admirers, then Nicodemus, the Rich Young Ruler, the man who only wanted to bury his father, and countless others, would have been eligible. Today it is so safe to be called a Christian that one can protest his willingness, if need be, to die for the Gospel, and never be put to the test. Indeed, since discipleship has now been abolished, and admirers have been promoted to the first place, there has been a promotion all down the line; this has given rise to "a class of Christians so strange and curious that they might be exhibited for money in a side-show" (p. 246), namely, free-thinkers who have attacked and undermined everything essential to Christianity, and yet who resent being excluded from applying the name to themselves so long as it connotes a certain vague kindliness and decency. Thus anti-Christians have now become simply latitudinarian Christians.

The seventh and last exposition on the theme of Part III concludes with a prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, that God will draw them to Himself by means of the crucified Christ. The prayer mentions infants, lovers, husbands, wives, the fortunate, the suffering, the doubting, the believing, and finally—parsons.

An Edifying Discourse on "The Woman that Was a Sinner" (Luke 7:37 ff.) is appended to the volume. Kierkegaard calls attention to three features of the incident. First, the woman became indifferent to everything except the one thing needful—forgiveness. Contrast her with the sort of people who worry about a multiplicity of things, concerning which Christians are bidden not to be anxious, but who do not know what is

the matter with them. Secondly, in finding forgiveness the woman herself did nothing at all. She did not wait until she was worthy to ask for help, or until she could get in some "good works"; she went just as she was. She did not indulge in loud self-accusation—as though *that* could bring salvation. She simply listened to Christ's story about the debtor who loved most because he forgave most, and in her sorrow she learned that the words applied to her. So because she "did" nothing, it looks easy. But it is not easy to be genuinely contrite, to reach complete trust in God, and to understand that one can, through busy attempts to make himself virtuous, do nothing at all. Thirdly, the fact that she confronted Christ directly made it harder for her, in a sense, than for people today. For while He lived, He could not offer anyone the fact of His death as the pledge of salvation.

Despite its repetitiousness, and despite the fact that it borders on what might be called a "masochistic" version of Christianity, this work as a whole is central for an understanding of Kierkegaard's religious development in its culminating phase. I have attempted to indicate why many of his ideas are crucial for contemporary theology in its relations with secularism, both inside and outside of the Church. Those who hold that Christianity cannot cut itself off from positive alliances with secular culture and philosophy (as I do), must take earnest heed of Kierkegaard's prophetic warnings concerning what happens to Christianity when it accommodates itself to either one.

Recollection, Indian and Platonic; and, *On the One and Only Transmigrant.* By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. Supplement to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* vol. 64, 1944. Pp. 1-18, and 19-43, respectively. Baltimore, Md., 20 Hopkins Place.

These two related monographs, both within one field of technical research of special interest to Indologists and students of comparative religion, exhibit at once the Indian mood and manner as they look even beyond Indo-European limits. The forty-three pages are evenly divided on the whole between exposition and argument, and one hundred thirty-eight footnotes in substantiation and extension thereof—very scholarly treatises representing painstaking effort on the part of this fellow for research in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

The thesis of *Recollection, Indian and Platonic,* is that learning is remembering, and that knowledge comes of "participation in the Omniscience of an immanent spiritual principle"—views notable in Hindu and Platonic, including neo-Platonic, texts. The Indian doctrine, simply stated through quotation, is that "memory is from the Self," the intuitive, omniscient self, "the *only* seer, hearer, thinker, knower and fructuary in us," of which the empirical self is but the instrument. Memory arises either "by over-knowing without means," or "by external stimulation," being "a kind of latent knowledge, which may be either self-revealing or may be revived by an appropriate external sign. . . . That which remembers, or rather, which is always aware of all things, must be a principle always present in all things." That is, omniscience is omnipresent, with neither spatial nor temporal succession.

While Dr. Coomaraswamy would only "call attention," as he says, to the importance and extent of this theory of Recollection, citing western sources, also, it seems that he subscribes to this as a full explanation. His Indian sources are Vedantic in the tone of Śaṅkara's "non-dualistic" *advaita,* but with some disregard of the basic role of religion in this "philosophy." The method of "attention" is selective, even beyond the exclusion of religion. The Upanishads, whence *ultimately* Vedanta, are by no means pure philosophy—which is also to say that they are not systematic. Śaṅkara's own *advaita,* by its method of negation keeps philosophy at some far remove from the fully known, and his *Dharma* finds

a useful place for faith. Some comment of the sort might also be made on the parallels cited from the *Meno,* the *Phaedo,* etc., as evidence of "a philosophy that is essentially the same in Plato and in the Vedanta." In the *Meno,* we may observe, Socrates is made to incline toward knowledge by recollection of the already known, but the issue is left short of what that might mean for ethics. In the *Protagoras,* Socrates holds, at least, that knowledge can't be *taught*—cannot come, in the Indian phrase, by "external stimulation." Nor has Platonic reminiscence—we might call it *consciousness* today—gone unquestioned in the West. If learning is indeed remembering, as the monographs would show, we might still ask *what* knowledge we acquire—or knowledge *of* what. The answer cannot lie in cryptic sayings altogether, whether Sanskrit, Greek, or other. And the parallels might merely show that there has been a long, wide search for *philosophia perennis.*

The monograph might better have omitted its conscpicuous reference to Koran 6:80 (or 81), by which it attributes to Mohammed the full *dhikr* (remembrance) doctrine of the much later *sufis.* Mohammed meant only to remind man that his Lord's knowledge was ample, comprehensive, wide enough for everything. Nor does the monograph consider such a practical problem as the Hindu's inability to recollect, in full awareness, the details of any previous birth!

The thesis of the second monograph is that the Lord is "the one and only transmigrant" (reincarnation and transmigration are distinguished), and that the "Lord" is "the Supreme and Solar Self, Atman, Brahma, Indra, . . . whose omniformity is timeless and whose omnipresence enables us to understand that he must be omniscient"—these are words of Śaṅkara. The Lord is spoken of by other names, also, the One, Sūrya, Savitr, Agni, Prajapati, Vayu and Prāna. He "takes his stand in every heart," is "everywhere born and reborn." It is "always *One* that is diversely and recurrently born," never any individual soul. It is only by *his* own desire to become many that he is born, and there is no "soul" that passes over in the process from one body to another, but only the "undivided and never individualized Self," this Self the one and only transmigrant which quickens all contingent lives whose "forms" are predetermined by mediate, *karmic,* causes.

All this is also in the mood and manner of what Vedanta *became* as the prevalent interpretation of the Hindu intelligentsia; and in order to

show that it is not an exclusively Indian doctrine that the Lord is the only Transmigrant, Coomaraswamy cites "parallels" by his misreading of Islamic, Judaic, and Christian theory—with some neo-Platonic content in the last. Although, he says, there is "no doctrine of reincarnation" in Christianity, there is a theory of "the word of God," "the Spirit of Truth," and "the real Self." He would see Jesus as later mystics saw him —Meister Eckhart, for example, whom he quotes. He would read speculative philosophy into many words of Jesus whose meanings were directly moral—a disregard again of the religious element.

There is profit to be gained in the quest of "the perennial philosophy," but too little if religion be ignored. Both India and the West have made early and acute efforts to understand the nature of the universe and man's own place within the *cosmos* or the *saṁsāra*. But Hinduism itself has had other views than sheer *advaita*—and other views than that of the sole reality of *Brahman*, something yet more positive than negative *advaita*. And any theory of "the one and only transmigrant" is but an incidental phase of Greek and Semitic thought. It is intriguing, nonetheless, to establish any contacts and coincidences which may be justified, even while we hold that the excellence of the intellect may lie in its ability to distinguish concepts rather than to comprehend their essence. And the West will hardly justify the Hindu's emphasis on a *static* universe in which recollection and transmigration operate, in which all roads lead to the one summit—there are many summits. No illusion of pure spirit has yet disguised in the modern West the fact of change, and there is a sense of undetermined values in this changing—perhaps growing—universe, which experience, if not experiment, may yet more fully realize. Eternal life itself may be, perhaps, not merely a recovery of what has been forgotten, but a state in which new knowledge is continually acquired.

These monographs might well be read together with Aldous Huxley's *Perennial Philosophy*, breathing as they do of that very spirit. They and it are a worthy contribution, in any event, to whatever the search for Truth is finding.

JOHN CLARK ARCHER

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A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem. By MILTON STEINBERG. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1945. vii, 308 pp. $3.00.

Thinking Jewish men and women have been wondering how to meet the anti-Semitic, anti-racial frothings of a Bilbo in the United States Senate; how to react to the Harrison report describing the continued misery of the liberated Jews in Europe after final victory; how to better understand the tempest brewing in Palestine. These, as well as a host of other problems, are the aspects of contemporary Jewish life that challenge this long-suffering people. Most volumes describing the Jewish problem—the storm clouds over Palestine, the difficulties of reconstruction in Europe, the battle against anti-Semitism—are detailed in their story of tears and suffering, but they leave the reader with a feeling of complete helplessness if not hopelessness. This new volume by Milton Steinberg is unique in that, even though the many faceted problems facing the Jewish people are carefully analyzed, the main stress of his work is on the mitigation and possible solution of these challenging problems. This is its special appeal; we are not overwhelmed by the sorrowful tale of distress, but rather determined to search for solutions:

> Most impasses of the human spirit and of social life are never completely broken. They are at best made partially viable. If then the chances be slight of achieving a final solution for all or any of the difficulties in Jewish living, it may still be possible to render them less burdensome—provided always that the matter in hand is first broadly and clearly understood. To these ends—the comprehension of the Jewish problem, and, if not its solution, at least its mitigation, all that follows in this book is dedicated.

In masterful prose, Steinberg discusses the fourfold problem challenging the Jewish fate and future. First, there is the elemental search for the "achievement of status" by the Jew. European Jewry is shattered. Here it becomes the obligation of American Jewry to rehabilitate this broken segment of their people. Regaining rights of citizenship, restoring confiscated property, reuniting broken families, healing sick minds and bodies, is their tremendous task. Closely related to this search for status is the struggle against bigotry, the source of all this evil. On this subject there is as penetrating an analysis of the causes for anti-Semitism as I have ever read. The real source of this infectious disease, of racial and religious prejudice, so destructive to our community life in America,

is outlined with rare clarity. Once again the stress is on what can and what cannot be done about this cancer in modern life:

> Along these lines then Jews can with wisdom and propriety proceed: they can educate against anti-Semitism; they can seek to dispel the clouds of estrangement that separate Jews from Gentiles and to encourage mutual friendliness between the two groups; they can stand firm in defense of their persons and their liberties; they can join with others in resisting social reaction and in draining those economic quagmires where fascism, chauvinism and racialism breed; they can and must be stalwart in defense of democracy everywhere.

And it is made very clear that the precious freedom of both Jew and non-Jew are involved. The loss of freedom of worship and citizenship for Jews must invariably affect those same rights of the non-Jewish community—as we should have learned by bitter past experiences.

Then, for the Jew, there is the problem of self-acceptance, of the psychic peril that beclouds his better judgment. Failure of morale, Jewish self-hatred, group inferiority complexes—all reflect the continuing challenges directed against this minority group. The search is for normalcy, for a rapid sloughing off of all these maladjustments. Here, too, the author searches for the causes of all these mental obstacles.

> Jews are the more likely to be capable of resisting adverse psychic influences and of preserving their self-esteem as they know and love the history and tradition that have made them; as they enjoy, are stimulated by and participate in Jewish life; and as, last of all, they are imbued with a persuasion of the meaningfulness of the whole Jewish enterprise.

It is reaffirmed that there can be no stigma attached to Americans of Jewish faith.

Still another phase of the Jewish problem is that of reconciling an ancient religious tradition to the modern, atomic world. The false dichotomy of modern knowledge versus religious superstition is revealed in all its nakedness. Employing the techniques of the modern scholar, the author defines all the phases of Judaism as a faith and Jewishness as a way of life:

> . . . Jews must be won to an understanding of their history, their tradition—religious, ethical, ceremonial, cultural, institutional—of their literary monuments, of the Hebrew tongue, of their problems, of the proposals for its solution, of their group purposes and ideals.

In this particular respect, the Reconstructionist point of view colors the author's program for a twentieth century philosophy of Judaism. For the American Jewish community, it is a Judaism that reflects the peoplehood, the religious values, and the concept of Judaism as a civilization.

The crucial issue of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth is also discussed. After a dramatic account of Jewish progress in the Holy Land during the past quarter of a century, the meaning of this historic experiment for the American Jewish community is presented. For these efforts in Palestine have already left marked impressions on all phases of Jewish community life in America:

> The variety of goods which the Homeland has already shipped to American Judaism is too broad to be catalogued in full; but a partial bill of lading would include the following items: A revived, reinvigorated, modernized Hebrew language for the enhancement of Jewish religious, and cultural life. A new pedagogy; fresh techniques for imparting to children and adults the content of the Jewish tradition. A renewed interest and a deepened insight into Scripture. Literature of all sorts—including poetry, drama, essays, novels—some of which, at least, shows high excellence. Art and the things it fashions. Music, both formal and folk, but in any case Hebraic in inspiration. The end products of extensive research in Judaism, conducted by the Hebrew University in particular. In the brief span of one generation the Homeland has become a prime center of scientific scholarship concerning Jewish history, literature, theology, indeed concerning anything relevant to Jews.

Steinberg feels that the problems presenting themselves in this area are not insuperable, and outlines and a program of action for Zionists:

> If there is protest concerning Palestine rather than other lands, it is because in this case the Jewish people has rights it does not possess elsewhere, the rights contained in the Balfour Declaration and Mandate. And these boil down to a commitment to a Jewish Commonwealth. Here is the writ by virtue of which the abrogation of the White Paper may rightfully be demanded, the lease whereby uprooted Jews have a claim on Palestine. Let Jewry surrender it, and it shall have given up its locus standi in a crucial cause. At all times then the pledge of a Jewish Commonwealth must be presented in evidence before the bar of humanity's conscience, but especially now when a plot for its abrogation is afoot.

Every reader of this *Partisan Guide* will feel a sense of gratitude to the author for clarifying the muddled problems facing the Jew in the post-war world. It must appeal to the average American Jew because, to

him, it will be a channeling of his own thinking. The clarity of thought and cogency of style give a sense of direction to the reader. Here are tangible steps to be taken; here is a practical program for today. This is a "must" book.

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The Jehovah's Witnesses. By HERBERT HEWITT STROUP. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. vii, 180 pp. $2.50.

Forty years ago the newly arrived minister of a central Nebraska church walked out into the country to make a pastoral call. On the parlor table of the humble home was a full set of the volumes of the International Bible Students Association, which he had never seen but was asked to evaluate. "We read them, like them, believe them." His congregation was enjoying the reading of Russellite literature more than the perusal of the Bible.

Some twenty years later a murder was committed in a Western New York city which sent the reporters to the office of a teacher of the History of Christianity with a score of questions regarding Judge Rutherford and his followers to which answers could not be given on the basis of any published information.

Then a budding preacher told this teacher one day in a class on the cults that his education in a lonely Canadian frontier town consisted of reading the Charles Taze Russell volumes—"the most interesting reading I have ever done. The quotations from the metropolitan dailies imbedded in these books gave me a liberal education and a desire for a college education."

In *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1927), all varieties of Baptists received only two and a half columns for their story, while the *Bibelforscher, Internationale Vereinigung Ernster* received well over three columns. Russell himself was given twice as many lines as Walter Rauschenbusch! Much light is shed on their American origin, beginnings in the various countries of Europe and Australia, organization, theology, and social-political emphases in this discussion, so that one senses what will happen under Hitler's regime. Ubiquitous Jehovah's Witnesses!

In 1933, Milton Stacey Czatt's monograph on Jehovah's Witnesses ap-

peared, advancing the interpretation considerably in spite of its brevity. It proved to be a *multum in parvo* summary.

And now Dr. Stroup pioneers in a sociological interpretation of the Jehovah's Witnesses which ought to become the standard for further study of the American cults. His method was observational by participation in the life of the "Witnesses" known as "Pilgrims" in Europe. The seven aspects of that group-life selected for careful investigation were its history and leaders, its organization and finances, its literature and workers, its converts and conversion, the ways of the Witness, the Witness as believer, and attitudes and relations. These certainly form the areas of contemporary interest. What is omitted from the earlier history of the cult is more than compensated for by the new data on the actualities of the present. Since Rutherford was to Russell what Brigham Young was to Joseph Smith, the last quarter century in the cult's history is far more significant than the half century which antedates it. The author classifies *The Jehovah's Witnesses* with the *Mormons, Christian Science,* and the *American Negro religion* as the "four predominant religious expressions which are typically American in their origin and development." Maybe the adjective and the adverb protect this judgment, but take a glance at *Religious Bodies,* 1936, I, page 7, and add Federated Churches and Unity and Pentecostalism and Adventism.

Among the findings of the study are the totalitarian nature of the organization of the cult, but with a sort of universal priesthood of all Witnesses; non-pacifism; requirement of immersion; discrimination against Negroes as far as the general conventions are concerned, though Negroes are members in many companies; subordination of women to men; slight religious creativeness; opposition to the historic churches; the designation of the meeting-place as Kingdom Hall; the two types of Witnesses, rural and urban, the former anti-smoking, anti-liquor, anti-motion pictures, women the root of all evil, etc., the latter much more liberal.

The appeal is to the poor, the below average, women, elderly people, mentally disturbed, rural-urban migrants, spiritual vagabonds, some Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, and Jews. The cult's interpretation of death and its hopeful millenarianism induce many Americans to join. From the beginning, the materials of the International Sunday School Lessons have been treated as a denial of the Bible and the Sunday School as absurd. Persecution of a cult does not pay. In the conflict

with Roman Catholicism, the "Catholics tried to discredit the Witnesses. The results were astonishingly discouraging. Persecution by the Catholics served to increase and strengthen the Witness membership." Thereupon, Catholicism reversed its policy, and the Witnesses now cannot arouse the former hatred. While criticizing the Russians as "atheists," they approach closely to the "communist ideology." A comparison between the Witnesses refusing to salute the flag because, "according to authoritative definitions, the saluting of the flag is a religious ceremony which gives reverence and worship contrary to God's law," and the Christian missionaries in Japan joining in the worship of the emperor at Shinto shrines because it was like saluting the flag and no religious worship reveals strange religious antitheses. The most recent decision of the United States Supreme Court unfortunately came too late to be included in the text.

No sociologist may skip the discussion of woman, marriage, and the home (pp. 113 ff.) without heavy loss. If the American Council of Learned Societies would generously contribute funds to the extension of this phase of the research to all the cults, the sociological significance of religion would become more meaningful in the understanding of the American way of life. Most remarkable of all, the dogmatic teaching of Russell regarding the Great Pyramid, the basis of the cult's millenarianism for so many years, with its invisible appearing of Jesus in 1874 and the manifestation set for 1914 and 1918 could be set aside by Rutherford with scarcely a ripple on the Witness mill-pond! The official statement of beliefs (p. 139) shows how a cult survives its errors by the rationalizing method: "The Old World ended in A.D. 1914 and the Lord Jesus Christ has been placed by Jehovah upon his throne of authority, has ousted Satan from heaven and is proceeding to the establishment of the 'new earth' of the New World." Rutherford claimed there were 6,000 Witnesses in Hitler's concentration camps. The German government reported 22,535 Witnesses in 1926. Has any non-Jewish German religious body suffered as heavily?

The American cults, like all of the churches, are selectivists with reference to the Bible. From the Fundamentalists to the Mormons, no sect, cult or denomination employs all of the Bible in its teachings. The reason we have so many "Bible churches" is that they graze in the different valleys and upon the various mountain sides of the Bible: Protestant orthodoxy has defined inspiration as meaning "that special divine influ-

ence upon the minds of the Scripture writers, in virtue of which their productions apart from errors of transcription and when rightly interpreted, together constitute an infallible and sufficient rule of faith and practice" (A. H. Strong, *Lectures on Theology,* pp. 50-59).

Cults are a menace to Christian orthodoxy because they accept both the Old Testament and the New Testament as inspired but choose a new series of biblical texts upon which to build their creeds. Thus, the Jehovah's Witnesses discover the modern automobile in Nahum 2:3-7; the modern locomotive in Job 40:15 ff.; the radio in Job 38:35; race problems in Joel 2:1-11; the Great Pyramid in Isaiah 19:19, 20; the noiseless advent of Christ in the variant of Matthew 24:31. For these new interpretations, the orthodox churches at first have no answers. So the cults are off to a good start.

Thereupon, the cult enters upon a new and daring adventure and outbids fundamentalist literalism. The cult *adds* an authoritative *novissimum testamentum* to the generally accepted Christian New Testament. This third testament is *sui generis.* For example, the Shakers have *Precepts of Mother Ann Lee;* the Latter Day Saints, *Book of Mormon;* Adventism, the Deliverances of Ellen Gould White; the McPhersonites, *Bridal Call;* Jehovah's Witnesses, both the *Plan of the Ages* and the *Harp of God.*

On page 52, the author compares the modesty of Russell with the extravagant claims of Rutherford. We protest. *Both were equally inspired for the contemporary Witnesses.* To demonstrate our point we quote the claim of Pastor Russell for his *Studies in the Scriptures* (*Watch Tower,* September, 1910, p. 298):

> If the six volumes of "Scripture Studies" are practically the Bible, topically arranged, with Bible proof-texts given, we might not improperly name the volumes "the Bible in an Arranged Form." That is to say, they are not merely comments on the Bible, but they are practically, the Bible itself.. . . Furthermore, not only do we find that people cannot see the divine plan in studying the Bible by itself, but we see also that if anyone lays the "Scripture Studies" aside, even after he has used them, after he has become familiar with them, after he has read them for ten years—if he then lays them aside and ignores them and goes to the Bible alone, though he has understood the Bible for ten years, our experience shows that within two years he goes into darkness. On the other hand, if he had merely read the "Scripture Studies" with their references and had not used a page of the Bible as such, he would be in the light at the end of two years, because he would have the light of the Scriptures.

Some ministers' magazines ought to bring this valuable study to the attention of desperate ministers the country over, who then might be able to appreciate and understand the cults they now so absurdly denounce.

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

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His Body the Church. By W. NORMAN PITTENGER. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1945. xviii, 158 pp. $2.50.

No subject is more prominent in the thought of Christian leaders today than the Church. It has been said that hitherto there has been no doctrine of the Church; but this is an exaggeration. This doctrine has not, however, been elaborated as some other doctrines, such as those concerning God, or Christ, or man, or salvation. But for the present generation, craving fellowship in a world-wide community, the Church has assumed a new importance.

This volume of Professor Pittenger's consists of the Bohlen Lectures given at the Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Philadelphia. Availing himself of the theory of development, of which Newman made so much, the author somewhat arbitrarily takes as his norm the Catholic Church as he thinks he finds it in its undivided condition before the Great Schism of East and West. He is not concerned with the first eight or ten decades, which seem to him embryonic, and he brushes aside the later development of the Papacy as an "over-development."

The Church is for him a divine creation, the inevitable and inseparable sequel of the Incarnation: "The supreme and crucial act of God for men is not Christ alone, nor is it Christ and His Church; rather, it is Christ-Church, Christ in His Church and His Church in Him, as its Lord and sole meaning" (p. 7). The author realizes that this statement requires him to consider carefully the relationship of the Church in God's intention and its empirical embodiment in the Churches known in human history. He criticizes the conception of the Church Invisible and the Church Visible, as too loosely related. He himself, however, is driven fairly close to this distinction, as it was made for example by Calvin, when in discussing who are members of the Church, he replies, "God knows." But he insists that the Church is twofold in nature, as was the incarnate Christ. It is both supernatural and natural. He compares the empirical Church to "the social humanity of Jesus": "The Church in this world is not simply the temporary empirical *manifestation* of the

supernatural Church, but is itself the supernatural Church on its human, natural, and empirical side" (p. 22).

In this empirical Church there are inner and outer circles, "a main stream" and subsidiaries, a central city and "suburbs." In the "innermost circle" belong those groups which have maintained the Catholic tradition in its four aspects. These are: (1) the historic faith stated in the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, and formulated in the great theologies of the undivided Church; (2) Sacramental worship; (3) the life of the Spirit maintained by such habits of devotion and discipline as produce lives fragrant with supernatural gifts—lives "en-Christed"; and (4) a continuity of ministerial order which guarantees in the Christian community the trustworthiness of faith, worship, and life. The author is persuaded that where any one of these four aspects of the Catholic tradition is weakened, the other three show signs of weakness too. By the continuity of ministerial order he means the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons. Groups which do not maintain these four aspects of the Catholic tradition, as the author sets them forth with considerable explicitness, he classes as "suburban."

The lectures deal with the Unity, the Holiness, the Catholicity, the Apostolicity of the Church, and then treat of the Worshipping Community, the Faith, the Church Expectant and Triumphant, and the Church in the World Today. The author is a precise thinker and a lucid writer. There is spiritual insight, competent scholarship, and the fervor of conviction throughout the book. But it raises questions in a reader's mind:

Is not the supernatural Church too closely identified with its historical embodiment? Must not the Church in history, with its liability to sin and error, regard itself as capable of being rejected for some more adequate embodiment of the Church of God's intention? If, as the Baptist phrased it, God could of stones raise up children unto Abraham, may not the Church in history be set aside for a new community to inherit what it has unworthily used or failed to minister? May not this have occurred in some of the despised "suburban" groups? Is it not more becoming to human frailty for the empirical Church at any moment to consider itself under the judgment of God's Word?

The author describes the true Christian as completely absorbed in and absorbing the life of the empirical Church: "One who lives his life as a Christian *in* the Church . . . lives *with* the Church, even lives

as the Church. . . . He is, so to say, lost in the life of the Church, in order that he may be found . . . *en-Christed* by his membership in the Body of Christ." (p. 54). Through the sacramental life the Christian "becomes, so to say, . . . a publicly manifested *work* of God-in-Christ-in-the-Church" (p. 54). But is not every Christian's relation to the Church a twofold one? Is he not both dependent upon it, absorbing from it and through it his spiritual life, and also a critic, drawing through it but from beyond it in Christ Himself that which enables him to detect its imperfections, to condemn its sins, and to contribute, if it will allow him, new inspirations for its reformation and renewal?

This is, of course, the Protestant attitude, and this book has no favoring word for Protestantism. Reformation "heresies" are mentioned, but no Reformation recoveries or restatements of aspects of the Christian faith and life which had become obscured. Granted that the Reformation wrought losses as well as brought gains, may it not have been under God part of the development? At all events, the author avails himself of a liberty of scholarship and of utterance which would not have been his had not this historic revolution emancipated Anglicanism from the Roman obedience.

The author looks down his nose upon "suburban" groups. They have been guilty of "schism." Their reasons for separation are "historically understandable." He seems to forget that their withdrawals from the central group were rarely voluntary. The Puritan clergy were ejected, although their leaders offered to conform to the modified episcopate of Archbishop Usher's plan; the Wesleyans would gladly have remained within the Anglican establishment, could they have carried on their preaching and training of their converts. None of the leaders of the Protestant Reformation wished to do more than recover "the face of the primitive Catholic Church of Christ." Our author says of them all: "They cannot be *unchurched.* Rather, it may be said, they are not adequately *churched":*

> They have failed to come into the full historic unity of the Church. . . . Their failure to recognize the fact, when it is patent, or their unwillingness to take such steps as may once more bring them more closely into union with the historically continuous communions, is of the nature of schism. . . . Most of the reasons for such refusal to return to the *innermost circle* of unity are not very weighty at the present moment (pp. 28, 29).

May it be that a "suburb" seems to afford more light, fresher air, and ampler room for action?

From the point of view of the Articles of the Church of England, is not the ministry of the Word placed side by side with the ministry of the Sacraments? For this lecturer the Word is not stressed. The "Rule of Faith" is the Creed. To make it the New Testament is "a Protestant heresy." The Reformation was a demand for a holier life in the Church. In the Scriptures doctrine and life seem even more interrelated and their connection more emphasized than in the Creed. The Reformers did not minimize the historic Creed. The Catholic Theology is in all their Confessions. But they had a corrupt Church, as they saw it, to Christianize, and the appeal to the Scriptures, with an emphasis upon the ministry of the Word, was their method of achieving it. Were they mistaken? They were fallible and sinful men, but did they not make an enduring contribution to the thought and life of Christendom?

Today, with hearts turning towards the more inclusive Christian community, "the greater Church" (as Canon Wedel has called it), there is need for the emphases of this book, provided they can be stated less harshly and exclusively. One may venture humbly to suggest that the "suburban" groups have conserved and made vital elements of the Christian tradition which are not as conspicuous, and sometimes seem lacking, in those whom this author locates in "the innermost circle." History is a complex movement, and it is not so easy to distinguish "a main stream." The "ordered ministry" itself undergoes many changes. A bishop of the Third Century might scarcely recognize a Prince Bishop of the Middle Ages or a prelate of Eighteenth Century England. Similar functions are performed in the various parts of the Christian Church by ministers with differing names. Is it the name or the spiritual gift, its recognition by the Christian community and its faithful discharge, which is the decisive criterion of its continuity with the apostolic ministry? Is it quite so patent as the author thinks that weakness in one aspect of "Catholic tradition" (as he interprets it) means a weakening of the other aspects? Is Presbyterian Scotland less "churched" with Christians holding firmly the historic faith, loyally using the two Sacraments of the Gospel, and seeking by devout habits and discipline to bring forth the graces of Christian character, albeit he would question the apostolicity of their ministry, than Anglican England, where he sees this ministry maintained?

The main contention of the book, that the Church is historically the result of the act of God in Christ, that it is essential to the continuance of what God there began, and that it must maintain its organic con-

inuity, is sound. Whether, however, there can be such fixed criteria of "the main stream," and whether these criteria are not themselves subject to modification and change, are less evident. Christian faith and life, and Christian institutions, show both abiding elements and changing forms. The enduring factor seems to be the figure of Christ, *"Ubi Christus, ibi ecclesia."*

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Approaches to National Unity. Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, and ROBERT M. MACIVER. Papers from the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life: Held in New York City, September 1944. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945. xxiv, 1037 pp. $5.00.

Approaches to National Unity is the volume containing the papers prepared for the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion held in New York in September 1944. The organizers of the Conference of 1944, in viewing the world's present crisis, noted the problem of group tensions, its complexity and extent, and the need for considering along with this problem the nature of communication of knowledge and experience. A thorough and extensive handling of these problems would provide an introduction, if not a solid foundation, for dealing with the 1945 topic, "Bridges for Cultural Understanding."

The papers dealing with group tensions were organized under the headings: "The Industrial Problem," "The Social Problem," and "The Religious and Philosophical Problem," and those dealing with Communication under the heading, "Among Leaders of Different Fields and Between Leaders of Different Fields and the Public." Beyond that the sequence, so far as this reviewer could discern, was fortuitous, and no effort at inner connection between the papers was noticeable.

The results of the 1944 Conference are ponderous, in more senses than one (the book is over 1000 pages); impressive, if only because of the sheer mass of ably presented material; and enlightening to some degree. The papers reveal considerable difference in quality and intent. They range from discourses that were almost homiletic, through special pleading, to tempered academic discussions of principles. It would, I believe, be

fair to say that, on the whole, the volume constitutes a great source book as well as a small introductory library dealing with Group Tension and Communication. No specialist can afford to neglect it; few laymen will have the courage to tackle it in its entirety.

One of the participants in the Conference remarked, "This world truly needs a Guide for the Perplexed." On having ploughed through the thousand pages it is easy to second the statement and add a request for a guide for the perplexed reviewer. There is little he can do in drawing the threads of the Conference together beyond the remarkable achievement of Editors Bryson, Finklestein, and MacIver, except to suggest a few drifts in the Conference. All the participants seemed drawn together by their own awareness of the tensions in modern culture. Many affirmed that modern culture is a Babel. In some respects the book is a Babel too, though the one obvious bond of unity at the Conference seemed to be that no one was present who enjoyed or professed to enjoy the perplexity of the modern world. There was much expression of agreement, real or dramaturgical, between those who read papers and those who criticized, so that few individual tensions were noted in the reading. Differences in the papers were many. Some of the participants wanted merely to eliminate tensions—the ones they disliked; others wanted to retain tensions, creative tensions. Some hoped for immediate relief from some tensions; others counseled caution in hoping. Some were concerned with past tensions, others with emphasizing present ones without concern for historical factors.

Concepts were investigated for their fruitfulness. So, for example, Mr. Overstreet found and criticized exclusiveness as the key to Fascism. Mr. Albright held that exclusiveness produces values. Mr. Kluckhohn sought to explain the concept. But no thorough debate of this and other basic concepts was possible. Probably the most unfortunate aspect of the Conference is that few actual group tensions were dealt with in sufficiently thorough manner to throw much light on the basic approaches employed. The same was true of the discussion of Communication. Here it was agreed that science or semantics or signs were not solely responsible for adequate communication, but little attempt was made to follow very far one form or another to its limits in terms of its own pretensions or the claims of rival or complementary forms.

The Conference was somewhat heavily charged with the feeling that the contemporary world is overemphasizing science and technology and

suffers a lack of content in philosophy, art, and letters. Whether this is saying any more than that the old order changes and that these particular men who took part in the Conference do not like the content of contemporary philosophy, art, and letters might well be debated. There was a fair amount of nostalgia for the past, though this was balanced by a reasonable number of very illuminating papers by working scientists and social engineers. There was a limited amount of emphasis on primacy of the Hebrew-Christian occidental tradition, though much of the report of the Conference seemed pervaded by its spirit. There was only one mild protest by an Oriental participant, and only one self-confessed effort to introduce the "strange god" of materialism, and that "reformed," into the picture. Probably most important was the consciously advocated position that the problem of tensions is a moral problem and not primarily a problem of science and education, but the most outstanding paper moving in this direction (Morgenthau's) reveals work in progress rather than a return to conventional foundations.

The failure, already mentioned, to deal with concrete problems so as really to bring our culture to decisions regarding them may perhaps be brushed aside by pointing to the participants as philosophers, scientists, and religionists. And, on the other hand, perhaps the very continued existence of the Conference at least to date throws some doubt upon Mr. Mortimer Adler's gloomy intimation of failure for the Conference, when he suggested at its first meeting that getting together in unity must precede intellectual discussion. Yet to the reviewer it appears that too much gentility and easy togetherness, and not enough light, pervades the Conference, though the obvious spirit of kindliness that seemed to prevail should be preserved by all means.

The editors could lighten the work of the reviewer and the general reader by eliminating many of the merely polite remarks from the criticisms of papers. Also, desirable are such extended but really enlightening criticisms of papers as was Mr. Hartshorne's criticism of Mr. Frank's paper. Far too many criticisms were merely perfunctory. And finally, the writers of the papers are to be highly praised for their relatively great abstention from academic jargon, and for their use of the cultured language of Plato's philosopher-gentleman.

HAROLD BUSCHMAN

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BOOK NOTES

The Shadow of the Soul. By Frederic Spiegelberg. (Mimeographed.) Leland Stanford University, 1945. iv, 47 pp.

Professor Frederic Spiegelberg, of Stanford, has prepared an abridged translation of the *Panarion* of Epiphanius for the use of his students in a course on "Heretic Traditions in Western Thought." He gives it the title, "The Shadow of the Soul," and makes it the handbook to an investigation of ideas "repressed" by the victory of Christianity. It is an interesting approach to the study of heresies, though the main thesis still remains to be proved. The mimeographed translation runs to iv+47 pages, and is useful even in its present unfinished state. Much of it is merely paraphrase—considering the original, one can understand this: time was no concern of the Cyprian saint! More serious is the choice of the Migne text: why was not Holl's edition used (two volumes in the *Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller*)? Before the translation is completed, it should be thoroughly revised, upon the basis of Holl's text and also in the interest of clear and accurate English. Also some omissions should be restored. Why was Judaism omitted (i.4) and the next section renumbered?

Frederick C. Grant

Rousseau, Kant, Goethe. By Ernst Cassirer. Trans. by J. Gutmann, P. O. Kristeller, J. H. Randall, Jr. Princeton University Press, 1945. vii, 98 pp. $1.50.

"Profound philosophical ideas work not only in their own circle. They become sources of intellectual light which send out their beams in all directions." With these words Ernst Cassirer concludes his valuable brace of essays on the impact that Rousseau made upon Kant and Kant upon Goethe. The whole question of influence and the whole difficulty of writing intellectual history come from this plausible observation, which Professor Cassirer aptly supplements with the principle that the net effect of the original radiation depends on the quality of the reflectors.

In this small book, he is admittedly dealing with instruments of the first class, and what emerges most notably from his careful textual and interpretive study is a sense of how much the interposition of inferior minds has distorted for us Rousseau's light.

With his usual simplicity and directness, Cassirer restates the moral, political, and religious elements which bound Kant to Rousseau and made of both of them the spiritual mentors of the nineteenth century. In so doing, the critic necessarily re-establishes the consistency and subtlety of Rousseau's conceptions, and we begin to see in the French philosopher something else than the madman of legend—the incredible figure who could paradoxically stir up and convince powerful intellects with cheap sophistries and manage to squeeze twenty volumes of close reasoning out of a temperament wholly made up of incoherent impulses.

Professor Cassirer shrewdly suggests that Kant could judge Rousseau better than we, because the distance between them as men was greater, not less. Our intimacy is based on Rousseau's *Confessions* and they are misleading. They misled even Professor Cassirer when he comes to comparing the temper of the two men, for he repeats without the needful corrective of other testimony Rousseau's remark about being able to create only in "the intoxication of passion." We know that he wrote in a cool hand with a cool head, and that his confessional remark refers to those moments of enlightenment when, in a mood comparable to intoxication and often matched in the experience of other writers, all his ideas seemed to fuse and rearrange themselves around a new insight.

When Professor Cassirer comes to Goethe, he is equally perceptive and substantially useful, but he has fewer common errors to refute. No one ever took Goethe for a strict Kantian, nor even—except in the proper poetic sense—for a philosopher. But to raise the question of influence with regard to this second pair of geniuses requires mention of Schiller and Beethoven, both of whom also read and more or less studied Kant. According to Cassirer, Kant was a *stimulus* to Goethe but a *discipline* to Schiller. As for Beethoven, it was Kant's rescue of practical reason from discredit that "inspired" him.

These are judgments intrinsically less demonstrable than those upon which rest Kant's obligations to Rousseau. I, for one, doubt whether any artist can receive more than stimulation from the study of a philosopher, and whether Schiller in particular was not harmed by his Kantism. It seems to me improbable that his overcoming of the *Sturm und Drang* within himself was due to the single external agency of a book. And it has been plausibly argued that, far from "improving" Schiller's later poems and plays, Kant's ideas weighted them down with irrelevant lumber. Perhaps Professor Cassirer is also open to question when he calls Goethe first a "naïve" poet, in Schiller's sense, and then a not-at-all naïve scientific theorist. These epithets seem to deny the basic oneness of Gothe's performance, and to misconstrue Schiller's terminology as well.

But these are trifling blemishes when set against the solid merits of an indispensable little book. The German text has been most happily translated by a galaxy of philosophic talent—and poetic too, judging from the fragments of Goethe's verse given us, not in Bayard Taylor's, but in rather more agreeable cadences.

JACQUES BARZUN

Religion and the World Order. F. ERNEST JOHNSON, Ed. New York: Institute for Religious Studies (Distributed by Harper & Bros., 1944. vii, 223 pp. $2.00).

This volume of lectures delivered in 1942-43, containing as it does a good many considerations relevant to our present situation, nevertheless helps to focus the dilemma of the formal and traditional religious institutions. For though we may agree with the editor "that identification of religion with the common life of men is the great desideratum of our time," and that religion

essentially "has always been group celebration of the highest values of the common life," the existence of rival creeds and sects has been and continues to be one of the divisive influences in our common life.

The secularism which is here decried can not be attributed to wilfulness; it is rather the historical, if not the logical, outcome of credal isolation from the battlegrounds of values. Anyone acquainted with Dr. Johnson and his work knows that he, together with many others who stand shoulder to shoulder with him, has his heart in the right place. But the dilemma already noted confronts him with an unavoidable question with which he does not here deal: How can a sectarianism which has no basically dynamic relation with the way men live be a means of bringing about the desired unity of mankind?

Professor Tillich, in his customarily searching way, deals with this question by implication, and he does so by undercutting it. The future, he declares, lies not with the great religious institutions, but with small groups all over the world devoted to what he calls "dialectical religious socialism." It is irrelevant to this point whether or not we agree with Professor Tillich that this position is the answer to theological optimism and pessimism. What is relevant is that he seeks the answer in a new religious emergence, and by so doing, brands the unifying efforts of Dr. Johnson practically hopeless. I find myself in agreement with this judgment, though not with the proferred solution.

Indeed, the entire problem can be perceived even more sharply by the realization that this is a volume dealing with religion *and* the world order, rather than religion *in* the world order. It is almost as if, willy-nilly, the relation between the two were an adventitious one. At least half the contributions in the volume are by sociologists, economists, and others specializing in social problems. They might just as well have appeared in a book on politics and world order, or history and world order, or the possibilities of world order, and this can be taken as evidence of failure to establish, between religion as now institutionalized and the world order now in process of creation, the desired dynamic relation.

All in all, the book is most helpful in the contributions of the "non-theologians," particularly those of Robert M. MacIver, Raymond Leslie Buell, Lawrence K. Frank, and John A. Fitch. Its chief importance from a "religious" point of view, I think, is that its failure may help us to see the problem a little more clearly.

JEROME NATHANSON

The Eleven Religions and Their Proverbial Lore. By SELWYN GURNEY CHAMPION, M.D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1945. xix, 340 pp. $3.75.

The author has made a considerable collection of excerpts from the literatures of eleven of the religions of the world. These consist of isolated passages chosen on the basis of key words and ideas appearing in some form or other in these religions. He has prepared elaborate primary and secondary indices for cross reference. In his preface (p. viii), he suggests that these "supply a re-

liable source book for comparative study." But, since these selections have been taken out of their context and are dependent upon translators' choice of words, their use as data for comparative study has little value. For example, the writer of the introductory sketch on Jainism remarks (p. 209): "Deva is the word which is here translated God. It means Thirthankara, the human omniscient teacher. The English word is not the equivalent of the Sanskrit. It is to be understood that any one who wishes to become a God (to use the English word) can do so, but the word does not mean a creator or ruler of the universe. It means a pure soul. Worship is here meant in the sense of hero-worship, for the purpose of bringing the worshipper to remember that he too can become like the worshipped."

Each collection of passages is prefaced by a concise introduction, written by a specialist. Some of these sketches are fine summaries, others interesting analyses. All assume a considerable knowledge of religions on the part of the reader. The book contains many interesting features, such as the Preface, the Introduction, and the Table of Origins and Distributions.

GEORGE W. BRIGGS

A Book about the Bible. By GEORGE STIMSON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. x, 509, pp. $3.50.

This truly fascinating book, by a former president of the Washington Press Club, purports to be "for everyone; minister, layman, teacher, student or just plain, average reader," and there is little doubt that all of these will find it interesting. The material was collected over a period of twenty-five years, with a good reporter's intense interest in facts and zeal for accuracy and the Library of Congress as source of information. It contains no less than 545 questions and answers, many of them very excellent little historical essays, running to several pages in length. Just to run down the Index from "Aaron" to "Zipporah" is enough to inspire one to further investigation of such items as "Abimelech, Bramble King," "Bear-rat," "Breeches Bible," "Hexadactylism," "Humor in Bible," and "Lydia, first European convert." (Incidentally, some of these items read rather like newspaper headlines, for instance, "God tempers wind to shorn lamb,"—on Beacon Hill?) But, seriously, this is a book greatly to be commended, especially for the "just plain, average reader" who needs a stimulus to brushing up on his Bible.

M. B.

To the Counsellors of Peace: Recommendations of The American Jewish Committee. New York, N. Y., March 1945. xi, 110 pp.

The Legal Status of Stateless Persons. By MARC VISHNIAK. *(Jews and the Post-War World,* Pamphlet Series, No. 6) New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1945. 70 pp. 20c.

These two excellent small works deal clearly and forthrightly with one of the

most crucial problems facing the world today,—responsibility for the displaced Jews. Since the great majority of stateless persons are Jews, it is basically a Jewish problem, but one which must be solved by the United Nations as a whole. The American Jewish Committee's program demands abrogation of racial legislation, indemnification for losses and restoration of property, repatriation when desired, freedom of migration, the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, the punishment of war crimes against the Jews and other minority elements, and the abolition of statelessness.

A Challenge to Freedom of Worship. New York: The Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, Inc., 1945. 30 pp.

A statement concerning the excommunication of Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada, prepared by the officers of the Reconstructionist Foundation to give "to their readers, members and supporters an account of the events and an interpretation of the implications of those events." It contains the following sections: "Excommunication Versus Freedom of Worship," by Ira Eisenstein; "The Implications of the *Herem*," by Dr. Kaplan; copies of Resolutions passed by five Jewish organizations; excerpts from the Jewish press all over the country, and from letters from various organizations and individuals.

Pope Pius XII, Priest and Statesman. By KEES VAN HOEK. With a preface by the BISHOP OF GALWAY. New York: Philosophical Library, 1945. 106 pp. $2.00.

A short biography by a journalist, bearing the official "Imprimatur." The author defends the papal policy with regard to the conquest of Abyssinian with the remark, "After all, The Church is not there to look after the ever-changing pattern of power politics, but after eternal verities."

The Challenge of the Church. By RANDOLPH CRUMP MILLER. Louisville, Ky.: The Cloister Press, 1945. Leader's Manual, vi, 78 pp. 90c; Student's Book, viii, 71 pp., 80c.

Life in the Church. By DUBOSE MURPHY. Louisville, Ky.: The Cloister Press, 1945. ix, 125 pp. 75c.

In these two small works, intended for the use of high school student groups and candidates for Confirmation, a great deal of valuable information about the Episcopal Church is to be found. Dr. Miller undertakes to answer such questions as: Why do we need the Church?; Where do we get our beliefs?; How wide is the Church? etc. Mr. Murphy gives brief, lucid explanations of the Book of Common Prayer, the Church Year, the Sacraments, etc. in an effort to answer the "hardy perennials," the questions which come up in every Confirmation class. The two books supplement each other well, and together contribute

to the understanding of "this strange, double-faced, ambiguous, comprehensive Catholic, Protestant Episcopal Church," in which, as Dr. Miller assures us, "there is a real ethos. It is found in the eternal tension between the Catholic and Protestant emphases."

A Book of Comfort. Compiled by ERIC PARKER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945. 154 pp. $1.50.

There Is a Spirit. By KENNETH BOULDING. New York: Fellowship Publications, 1945. 26 pp. 75c.

These two pocket-size books represent a high standard in devotional literature. Mr. Parker's anthology contains quotations from the writings of our greatest English poets and prose writers, grouped under such headings as Sudden Death, Children, Friends, Two Worlds, etc. Mr. Boulding's sonnets, based on a Statement by James Nayler, a seventeenth century English Quaker who suffered much for his faith, deserve to be included in future anthologies of religious poetry. It contains a Foreword by Gerald Heard.

They Found the Church There. By HENRY P. VAN DUSEN. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945. xii, 148 pp. $1.75.

A spirited account of how our armed forces discovered Christian missions in the South Pacific, told with the aid of quotations from letters of the hundreds of service men who owed their lives to Christian natives. This is no "apology for Christian missions," but a glowing tribute to the work of generations of courageous men and women missionaries.

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